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ANNEX

THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM

By M. ^{MAIMBOURG} MAIMBOURG;

SHEWING

Its Influence upon CIVIL AFFAIRS: And the Causes of
the Diffolution of the Roman EMPIRE.

To which are added,

TWO INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSES,

- I. Concerning the Nature of ERROR in DOCTRINES
merely Speculative, shewing, that the Belief of such Doctrines
may be required of us as *necessary Terms* of Salvation; wherein
also the case of *positive Institutions* is particularly considered.
- II. Shewing that the Doctrine of the TRINITY is not
merely Speculative.

With an APPENDIX Containing an Account of the *English*
WRITERS in the *Socinian* and *Arian* Controversies.

By WILLIAM WEBSTER, M. A.
Curate of St. Dunstons in the West.

L O N D O N,
Printed by W. ROBERTS MDCCLXXXIII.

WYOM WYB
ALBION
YRABOL

T O

The Reverend Dr. *GODOLPHIN*,
PROVOST of EATON;

Who, though eminent for his many excellent Qualities, and valuable Actions, has yet made it the *distinguishing* Glory of his Character, that, in an Age when the DIVINITY of our BLESSED SAVIOUR has been vigorously opposed, its Enemies encouraged, and its Advocates discountenanced, he has constantly shewn a particular ZEAL for That most important *Article of Faith*,

THIS HISTORY
OF
Arianism and Socinianism

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THE

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present and for the development of a sound policy for the future. The author points out that the study of history is not only a means of acquiring knowledge, but also a means of developing the ability to think critically and to make sound judgments.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present and for the development of a sound policy for the future. The author points out that the study of history is not only a means of acquiring knowledge, but also a means of developing the ability to think critically and to make sound judgments.



T H E
P R E F A C E.



Will not trouble the Reader with a long Preface to a Work already very large, but, in justice to my self, I am obliged to give some Account of the Undertaking, and of the Execution of it.

The Translation of Maimbourg's History of Arianism was undertaken, and begun by Dr. Herbert, the Person who was concerned in the Translation of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History. About thirty Sheets of the Work were printed, and then it stood still for a considerable time. Partly by the Importunity of the Doctor, but chiefly at the Request of Dr. Waterland, I was induced to join in the undertaking, without knowing any thing more of it than that it had the Approbation of so learned and judicious a Person, who had acquired so much Glory to himself, and done so much Service to our Christian Faith, by his excellent Defence of it. After I had entred into Articles of Agreement with

P R E F A C E.

Dr. Herbert, he soon obliged me to consent that another Gentleman should succeed to his Share in the Work, and, instead of forwarding the Success of it by his Recommendation, he thought fit to express great Satisfaction in having ridded his Hands of it. His Successor (whose Name I have not the Liberty to mention) has translated a considerable part of the History, and, in respect to his Knowledge of the French Tongue, was perfectly well qualified for it. If, for want of Use, he sometimes seems to want a familiarity with the English Idium and Phrazeology, the sense of the Author is nevertheless preserved, and therefore the Translation is equally useful, though not always so elegant as a nice Critick in our Language might expect.

But there is another more material Objection which it concerns Me alone to answer. When I first delivered out Proposals, I undertook to give an Account (by way of Appendix) of the English Writers in the Socinian and Arian Controversies. Promises of This kind ought as religiously to be regarded as any others; but, like all others, they are not binding to Impossibilities, or in such Instances where it may reasonably be presumed that the persons, to whom they are made, would not insist upon the performance of them. This I apprehend to be my Case; I shall fairly state it, and submit my self to the Opinion of the Publick. When I gave out Those Proposals, I did not foresee the length of the Work, or the great Difficulty of getting Encouragement

P R E F A C E.

to it. But the Expence having already so much exceeded my Expectation, by an Enlargement of the History, and the number of Subscribers falling so much below it, I did not think it would be expected by my Friends that I should injure my own Circumstances, only to gratify their Curiosity.

As to the History it self, I shall leave the Reader to make his own Judgment of it, after having cautioned the Unlearned against Maimbourg's frequent, but groundless Insinuations against the Protestants. His natural Temper seems to be warm, but his Passions are so strongly engaged in the Cause of Popery, that little Credit is to be given to his own Judgment and Authority when he asserts any thing in favour of his Religion, or makes Reflections upon Ours; and yet in such Points he seldom pretends to any better Authority than a bold Assertion, and an heavy Charge. But that the Arians may not take advantage from hence, and represent This History as a Collection of Falshoods, I must observe, that the main Series of Facts relating to Their Conduct is supported by good Authorities appeal'd to by the Historian, and agreeable to other Histories of those Times.

THE



T H E

A U T H O R ' S

P R E F A C E.



THE History which I am writing is so universal, both for the abundance and variety of matter contained in it, that, by undertaking it, I may well be said to lay myself under an obligation of giving the Reader an account (a) of the most remarkable transactions of the world for many ages : (b) For, as a spark of fire that has been neglected

(a) Euseb. vit. Cœnst. Ep. 2. c. 60.

(b) Socrat. l. 1. c. 3.

ii P R E F A C E.

to be put (c) out, presently kindles a great fire in an House, which consumes it; and being driven by the violence of the wind into all quarters of a City, causes a general conflagration, which rages terribly, and reduces almost every thing to ashes: So the Arian heresy not having been extinguished in Egypt, where it first appeared, spread itself soon after into Palestine, from whence being forced on by the fury, interest, and power of that party, it overran at length all parts of the two Empires, and even extended a great way beyond their limits, into Nations at the greatest distance, causing every where those strange disorders which put the whole world into confusion.

Was it not indeed something very extraordinary, that the rage of one man, who was in nothing so great as his presumption and malice, should meet with such assistance, as to be able to form a party that, in a few years, was strengthened by all that was most great or powerful upon earth? Emperors, Empreſſes and their Favourites; Generals of Armies, Ministers of State, Politicians, and all the greatest men of those times, made use of those very weapons to obtain victory for him, which served to destroy the power of Paganism, and establish the Christian Religion on its ruins. To these were added stratagems, artifices, and court intrigues; with promises, threatnings, rewards and punishments; and heat of persecution, more

(c) Niceph. l. 8. c. 5.

terrible

P R E F A C E. iii

terrible even than those of the very tyrants, over whom these new persecutors had but lately triumphed.

The Kings of those barbarous Nations, whom the Divine Justice had reserved as so many scourges to chastize men for their sins, ran blindly into this party; and after having destroyed the true worshippers of JESUS CHRIST, in the best parts of the world, by fire and sword, they filled them with Arians, their cruel and unmerciful conquerors, by those dreadful inundations of Barbarians that overspread Germany, France, Spain, Africa, and Italy, which they brought under their subjection. Even Rome itself, the seat of Empire and Religion, sunk more than once under the power of these victorious Barbarians; and that mistress of the World whom they at length subdued, was herself obliged to receive Laws from those, whom before she would only use as slaves, not esteeming them worthy to be ranked in the number of her subjects.

Besides, the Spiritual Powers, who ought to have made the greatest opposition to this torrent of impiety, increased the fury of it by supporting this heresy with all their authority. Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops, Priests, Monks, and Virgins, who had dedicated themselves to Religion, united and conspired together to strengthen this sect, and form it into a body, which, for the number and quality of its members, might make it doubtful whether it

was not that of the Church itself; and indeed there were Prelates enough in that party to have composed councils, that (for number) have styled themselves Oecumenical. Even the Orthodox themselves, who were innocently deceived by the specious appearance of a pretended peace, have given room for their being esteemed as such, and almost all the world, following the example of their Pastors, having fallen insensibly into the snares of these Hereticks, perceived at last, with horror, that they were in reality quite otherwise than they intended, and had run of a sudden into Arianism. So that the wisest men, after they have escaped the greatest dangers, have most to apprehend, and from that generally which they least suspect, their own wisdom and conduct; much after the same manner as those bodies that are most robust, become more strong and hardy, by being exposed to the violent impressions of heat and cold, but are generally destroyed by some inward disorder against which no precautions were taken.

So many dreadful and melancholy circumstances, which were matter of great grief to all good men, whilst they were transacted, cannot but afford abundance of pleasure and solid instruction, when read: For since the many evils they occasioned in the world are past, and remain only in our memory, reading will but revive them in our minds without any danger of suffering by them; and they cannot but give us entire satisfaction, without the mixture of

P R E F A C E. v

of that fear and concern which might arise from an apprehension of the causes and consequences, the effects and circumstances, the mystery and unravelling of so many surprizing incidents, which so often changed the face of things.

But besides the pleasure that is inseparable from History, which the curious never fail to enjoy, as a present recompence for the pains they take, and the time they so usefully employ in reading, certainly all true Christians must have a particular satisfaction in reading an account of the victories of the Word Incarnate, who so gloriously triumphed over all the powers that conspired together against his Divinity.

In truth, his doctrine and miracles, the prophecies and types which represented him, the perfect agreement both of the old and new Testament, all the surprizing circumstances of the miraculous establishment of the Christian Religion; which requires us to adore JESUS CHRIST as true GOD; the wonderful progress that it has made every where, the duration and perfection of it, its martyrs, its councils, its miracles that have been seen continually in all ages, as a confirmation of that Faith which consists of every thing that is essential in Christianity: These, with many other motives of the same nature, are such manifest proofs of the Divinity of the Son of GOD,
that

that there is no reasonable man, that is free from passion and prejudices, but, upon the least consideration, will find himself obliged to acknowledge it. But if there were not these irresistible arguments which so firmly establish this great Faith, the very enterprizes of Arianism, as they are faithfully represented in this History, with the success which they had, would be sufficient to convince us of it. For the party of this heresy was so strong, those who composed it so ingenious, cunning, powerful and numerous, their assaults so briskly made and so often repeated, that if the Divinity of the WORD, which they endeavoured to root out of the minds of men, had been nothing but an illusion, and an impious falsehood, as they pretended, there was an absolute impossibility of its subsisting; since, after all, a lie could not hold out so long against such force, and because nothing less than Truth could triumph over all the powers of the Earth conspiring together for its destruction.

It will be a pleasure likewise to learn from the fall and ruin of this heresy, which of itself was more powerful than all others together, what must necessarily be their fate. It reigned insolently almost throughout the whole world, being supported by the majesty of Emperors, and by the victorious armies of conquering Kings; and yet now it, with difficulty, finds shelter in a corner of Transylvania; there hiding the wretched remains of it, attended with the
hatred

P R E F A C E. vii

hatred and curses of all mankind. The French, above all, will partake of this Glory of JESUS CHRIST in overcoming this monster, when they found that GOD made use of the arms of their ancestors, under CLOVIS the Great, to drive this heresy out of Gaul, where the Visigoths had set it up, by establishing there a new Monarchy.

It requires indeed a strength of genius, superior to mine, to write well of such great matters; but I hope that JESUS CHRIST, upon whom alone I rely in so good an undertaking, will strengthen me with his grace to finish, tolerably well at least, a work, which not only is proper for one of my profession, but may also conduce to his glory. Nay I even think that I shall be found to have some reason not to deny myself the pleasing satisfaction that I may reap, by my employing the short remainder of my life in describing the battles, victory and triumph of my Saviour, after having spent above thirty Years in setting forth, from the pulpit, his divine perfections and the wonders of the Gospel. As I have long since experienced the effects of thine aid and powerful assistance in guiding my tongue in the discharge of my laborious function, I earnestly implore thy protection, O adoreable God and Man, to direct my pen also in the performance of this undertaking, which I hope successfully to finish for thy glory.

T H E



AN INTRODUCTORY
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
The *NATURE* of ERROR
in *Speculative* Points.



HAVING been prevailed upon to collect an account of the *English* writers upon the *Socinian* and *Arian* controversies, I thought it a seasonable opportunity for publishing a discourse concerning *doctrinal* points in Religion, in answer to the loose and pernicious notions of those who maintain the *necessary innocency* of Error or Ignorance in such points. For, tho' they seem to allow the necessity of believing certain articles of *Faith*, yet they will not allow that matters of *Doctrine* or *Speculation* can be of That number. What points they will allow to be *fundamental* articles

a

cles of Faith, they do not offer to declare, but by *doctrinal* or *speculative* ones they understand those *mysterious* doctrines of *Christianity* relating to the divine nature and manner of existence, and the method of our Redemption by *Jesus Christ*; such as the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, and several others, which I forbear to mention here, as having no immediate relation to my subject. This important doctrine, tho' plainly-revealed in the New Testament, and commonly maintained in the first and purer ages of Christianity as generally necessary to salvation, is yet rejected, because inconsistent, as is pretended, with the principles of *reason* and *philosophy*. Many unsuccessful attempts having been made by the *Socinians* and *Arians* to defend their heresies from *scripture* and *antiquity*, they have been constantly projecting new schemes for the support of them. Among others the doctrine of the *innocency* of errors in points of *speculation* has been of late, tho' not invented, yet more fully and particularly enlarged upon, and digested into a regular scheme. However true the doctrine of the *Trinity* may be in itself, or how clearly soever it may be revealed in *Scripture*, yet, as it is a matter of *speculation* only, the knowledge and belief of it, it seems, do not affect our *salvation*. It may serve, like other *philosophical* and *metaphysical* questions, to employ the thoughts of the learned or inquisitive; it may serve for an amusement in a leisure hour, or as a trial of ingenuity; as an opportunity
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of shewing a great deal of reading, a rational head, or a critical sagacity ; but the subject is, in its own nature, as indifferent as any *mathematical* truth, and therefore can't possibly be a *necessary* and *fundamental* article of *Faith*.

The Foundation upon which this objection is built, is not good, as will appear afterwards when we come to consider the nature and consequences of the *Christian Mysteries*, especially the most important Mystery of the *Trinity*. It is not so purely *speculative* and *abstracted* in its nature, as they would insinuate, but is immediately connected with *practice*, as requiring certain external actions, and those too of the essence of true Religion, to be performed in consequence of it ; and as having a necessary influence upon the mind, in exciting and improving *religious dispositions*. Indeed it seems to me an impossible Supposition that any truth, immediately respecting the nature of *God* and his most wonderful and gracious dispensations in the *redemption* of Mankind, should be *speculative* only ; if *speculation* be opposed, as it must be, to any influence upon the *religious dispositions of the mind*. But, previous to this inquiry, I thought it might be of great use to examine the Case of *doctrinal* or *speculative* points in Religion, how far they are *indifferent* in their nature, and, as such, incapable of being made *terms* and *conditions* of *Salvation* : For, to such a persuasion it is owing, that a great number of Christians

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neglect

neglect the consideration of the *essential* doctrines of their Religion. They are prepossessed with a Notion that such matters do not at all concern them, and then rationally enough determine not to spend their time upon Subjects of no consequence to their real happiness, and as little entertaining to their taste and humour. But if we can convince unbelievers, that, *were* the articles of *Christian Faith* purely *speculative*, the belief of them might, nevertheless, be required of us by God as necessary to a participation of the benefits of *Christianity*, we have gained one considerable point upon them, by removing an objection that lay in the way to a proper enquiry. As they will not be persuaded to bestow much pains in inquiring into the truth of useless doctrines, the first proper step towards their conviction seems to be to shew, that the belief of such doctrines may be of the last importance to their eternal happiness, because required by God, however *indifferent* in their own nature. They may then the more easily be persuaded to enquire whether God has revealed them, and required the belief of them; and such an enquiry will as naturally shew them how essential the doctrines, in dispute between us, are to the *whole Christian Scheme*, and effective of true *Christian dispositions*.

But the main reason why I thought an enquiry into the nature of *doctrinal* or *speculative* points seasonable is, because the manner of defending the prevalent notion concerning

cerning the *innocency* of such *Errors*, has led the abettors of it into very dangerous principles, destructive of *all Faith*, and *Morals*. Indeed *modern free thinking*, in respect to *Religion*, resolves at last into *Deism*, but in nothing more manifestly than in the present dispute; tho' I am willing to hope, the consequences are not seen by every one who maintains the principles from whence they flow. This, however, tho' it may, and ought to incline us to judge charitably of the intention of the authors of *heretical* notions, yet it ought not to lessen our industry and zeal in endeavouring to prevent their pernicious effects upon the Faith of others.

I shall therefore proceed to the question in dispute, instating and prosecuting of which, I shall have particular regard to a celebrated performance, written professedly upon the subject, under the title of *the Innocency of Error asserted and vindicated*. This author, as he himself declares, has *taken the utmost care and pains to go to the bottom of it*, and his *friends*, if we may judge from *their* avowed character of it and *his* publick encouragement from them, espouse the principles laid down in his book, and seem to think, he has succeeded very well in his design, so that in confuting *him* I may fairly be supposed to have confuted the general sentiments of the *party*. What *care* the author may have taken, he himself best knows; but it is
more

more than my *opinion*, that he has not gone to the *bottom* of the *question*, but only made it more difficult for others to do it for him.

Error, he says, p. 3. *is an Assent of the Mind to a proposition as true, which is not so. If Error extends no further than the Mind, 'tis what I call SIMPLE Error: If a man proceeds upon this false bottom to regulate his practice, such Error is then call'd a practical one; of the former of which he thinks it clear and beyond dispute, that they are not punishable. By simple Errors then he means such as are purely speculative, in opposition to such as have an influence upon practice. But this distinction of Errors into speculative and practical is often repeated.*

P. 12. *If we guard against evil practices, if we take care that our actions are but regular and agreeable to the laws of Christ, I do not see what harm can ensue; from notions, he means; for he had observed, a little before, that God will not damn us for our notions.*

Again, p. 16. *For any one to imagine it zeal for God to persecute men for Errors in Speculation, what is it but to betray an ignorance of God and his attributes?*

Again, p. 27. *Errors in PURELY SPECULATIVE matters are not punishable.*

Again, p. 29. *If Errors of the Understanding are criminal, let all be so, and punish philosophical ones as well*
as

as theological. I need not cite any more passages, the abovementioned being abundantly sufficient to prove, that by *simple Errors* he means in these places *speculative* or *doctrinal* ones, Errors concerning such things as are barely the objects of our *Understanding*, without having any influence upon our *actions*, and consequently that he grounds the *innocency* of such Errors upon their *speculative nature*.

Thus the terms *doctrinal*, or *speculative*, and *simple*, are used promiscuously, as equivalent in their signification. Yet, at the 27th page, when he recapitulates the *particulars* of his discourse, he makes them signify two different kinds of Error.

1. 'Tis evident, I believe, that *simple Errors*, let them spring from what cause they will, are not punishable.

2. That Errors in matters of speculation are not punishable.

Where he particularly distinguishes them as different and distinct from each other, tho' in his *definitions* of *simple* and *speculative* Error, and afterwards in the course of his arguments, he considered them as one and the same. Sometimes, you see, *simple* Error, or Error *simply* considered, is used in the same sense with *speculative* or *doctrinal* Error, at other times those terms signify two distinct sorts of Error. Which mistake I have not observed, for the sake of finding fault, but in order to render the following discourse the more clear, by fixing

ing determinately the meaning of our terms, and the true state of the question.

On the same account I am obliged to observe another mistake, at the 14th page, which quite alters the question, by placing the *innocency* of Error, not in its *simple* or *speculative* nature, in opposition to *practical* Errors, but in men's not *justifying* their practical Errors. His words are these, *Such as err and justify their practical Errors.* And again, p. 22. *The fourth and last, and only bad sort of erroneous persons are, such as err, and practise according to, and justify* (he puts it in *Italick*) *their practical Errors*; which is removing the stress of the cause to a quite different point from that, whereon he had placed it before; to a point, not only different, but utterly unintelligible. If an erroneous conscience obliges us to act in consequence of it, it can be no crime to justify what we are obliged in conscience to perform. In short, the crime does not lie in *justifying* our obedience to the dictates of conscience, but in not using all the proper means to inform our conscience aright. Surely nature has given this writer, or he has happily acquired, such a facility of writing obscurely, that his meaning will soon become as great a secret to himself as it is generally to the reader.

Another remarkable instance of his inaccuracy in stating his notion is, his adding *involuntary* to his definition

inition of *simple* or *speculative Errors*. I must transcribe the whole passage to do him and myself justice; tho' I have already cited part of it. P. 3. If *Error extends no farther than the mind*, 'tis what I call *simple Error*. If a man proceeds upon this false bottom to regulate his practice, such Error is then called *practical*. How far this latter sort of Errors (*practical ones*) falls under the cognizance of man, or of a much higher tribunal, that of God, will appear from the ensuing discourse. In order to which 'tis clear beyond dispute, that *simple and involuntary Errors are not, nor can be punishable*.

There can be no dispute but *simple Errors*, or Errors confined to the mind, and *simple and involuntary Errors*, are here used as signifying the same thing. Our author has observed, that writers ought to proceed *step by step*; I wish he had followed his own advice, for he has made too much haste, and taken two steps at once, which is indeed a very unsafe way of proceeding.

1. *Simple and involuntary* can't possibly be *equivalent* terms, and therefore ought not to have been joined together in his definition of *simple Errors*.

2. But he may say, that *simple and involuntary* are here so annexed, that whatever Error is *simple* must necessarily, from the nature of it, be *involuntary*; and consequently, tho' they are not *equivalent* in their signification, they infer one another.

Be it granted, for argument sake, that *all simple Error* must be *involuntary*, yet *involuntary* should not have been added to *simple* in a *definition of simple Errors*, where nothing should be inserted but what is *peculiar* to the thing *defined*, in order to distinguish it from all others of a different nature. Now the *peculiar* nature of *simple Errors* consists, as he all along supposes, in their *being confined to the mind*, in opposition to such as influence *practice*. This is the *ground* of his whole scheme; and the proper *foundation*, upon which he ought to build the *innocency* of such Errors, is, the *speculative nature* of them. If it follows from the *nature of speculation* that Errors in *such points must be involuntary*, let the *consequence* be deduced regularly from the *premises*, but not made part of the *definition or proposition itself*.

3. *Simple Errors* are no more *involuntary* in their own nature, than *practical* ones, nor *practical* ones any more necessarily *voluntary* than *simple* ones. Certainly a man may assent to a *speculative* proposition *as true*, which is *not so*, thro' his *own fault*, thro' *obstinacy*, thro' *neglect* and *carelessness*; as he may likewise be mistaken in his opinion concerning *practical* truths, for want of *ability* or *opportunity*, or by means of other causes which he has allowed, and endeavoured to prove, to be sufficient to render Errors innocent. But these things will be considered afterwards, when I come to examine particularly
his

his arguments in proof of the *innocency* of *simple Errors*; from whence, if he proves any thing, he proves too much, *viz.* that *practical Errors* are *equally innocent*, because *equally involuntary*; and that Errors concerning the truth of the *facts* contained in the Gospel are no more punishable than Errors about the *mysterious doctrines* of it. At present I only observe, that, by placing the *criminal* or *innocent* nature of Error in its being *voluntary* or *involuntary*, without regard to any other circumstance, he destroys his own scheme, the design of which is to ascribe innocence particularly to *simple* or *speculative Errors*, by way of distinction from *practical* ones. He says, the only punishable Errors are *involuntary* ones. And who ever said otherwise? But the question is not, whether *involuntary* Errors are *punishable*, but only concerning *speculative* Errors as opposed to *practical*. Now, how does he undertake to prove the *innocency* of *speculative* Errors? Why, by saying, that if a man does but take care of his actions, that they are good and regular, and for his notions let him but use common prudence and discretion, and a God of infinite goodness will not be so rigid a task-master as to require brick without straw. He proves the *innocency* of *notions*, as opposed to *practice*, by a circumstance that will make *actions* as innocent as *notions*. . *Notions*, he says, are not *punishable*. And why so? Because God will not require brick without straw.

Neither will he require *impossibilities* in respect to our *actions*, any more than in respect to our *notions*. Whatever is *involuntary* must be *innocent*, and therefore *involuntary notions* cannot be *punishable*. But all this time he ascribes no *particular innocency* to *speculative Errors* in opposition to *practical* ones, because he places it in a circumstance that will render them *both* equally innocent. I am afraid the reader is tired with so much tedious trifling, but I thought it absolutely necessary towards a clear and full view of the question before us, to settle the true state of it, by freeing it from those perplexities in which this author has involved it.

The question then (to use our author's own words, as we find them at p. 29.) is concerning *some Notions or Speculations about the blessed Trinity, or such mysteries of Christianity*. Our author asserts, that Errors about such points are *not punishable*, because *notions* or *speculations* are, in their own nature, *innocent*, as having no influence upon *practice*. This question necessarily infers another, tho' our author has taken no notice of it, *viz.* whether the doctrine of the *Trinity*, or other *mysteries of Christianity*, be doctrines *purely notional* or *speculative*. For, otherwise we may grant the truth of his proposition in respect to the innocency of Error in *speculative* points, and yet deny the innocency of Error concerning the doctrine of the *Trinity*, or other *mysteries of Christianity*.

But

But I shall now confine myself to an enquiry into the *necessary innocency* of *notions* and *speculations* in *religious* matters; wherein I shall examine the several arguments brought in support of this favourite scheme.

The first thing offered by way of proof, we find at the beginning of the last paragraph of the 3^d page, in these words, *because in the perceptions of the mind men are perfectly passive.*

This argument, tho' the author, I dare say, did not perceive it, will equally render *all* Errors innocent, the mind being equally *passive* in those perceptions, upon which we ground our judgments in *practical* truths, as in *speculative* ones; and this is the very same argument which is usually urged against *free will*. We *act* in consequence of our *judgment*, and our judgment is made in consequence of our *perceptions*; and therefore, if, in *speculative* truths, the agreement or disagreement of the terms of a proposition *appears necessarily* to the mind, and the mind *judges according* as things appear true or false, the progress of the mind is the same in the judgments which it makes concerning *practical* truths; and so our errors concerning *practical* truths are as *involuntary*, and consequently as *unpunishable* as *speculative* Errors.

The same consequence will follow in respect to the belief of the *Christian Religion* in general, or of any particular

ricular fact or facts, upon which our belief of *Christianity* is founded; the mind, according to our author, must be *passive* in its *perceptions*, and *passive* in its *judgments*: It is not in any man's power to determine how the evidence for the truth of those facts shall *appear*, or whether he shall *judge according* as things appear; consequently, any Error respecting the truth of *Christianity* is as *innocent* as any Error in our *notions* or *speculations* concerning the *Trinity*, &c. Thus effectually, tho' unwarily, does our author destroy, not only *revealed* Religion, but even *Morality* itself, by rendering us *necessary*, and, if *necessary*, *unaccountable* beings. But I need not urge this any farther; our author, and his friends, if they be friends to Religion, will readily give up the argument, or shew how the mind is *passive* in its perceptions and judgments concerning *speculative* points, and *free* in its perceptions and judgments of *practical* truths; *passive* when it perceives and judges of *notions* and *speculations* about the *Trinity*, and other *mysterious doctrines* of Christianity; *free* when it perceives and judges of the *speculative* evidence for the truth of *Christianity* itself.

As this is a matter of great importance to *humane Liberty*, and to *Morality*, I shall endeavour to give a true state of it. I agree with the author of the *Innocency of Error*, that the mind is *passive*, as in its *sensation*, so likewise in its *perceptions*, not only of *speculative* but of *pra-*

practical truths; but it is not passive in its *judgments*. The mind receives the ideas, which offer themselves, as they are, and which cannot possibly be received other-ways. *Perception* is *necessarily* what it is, and consequently always infallibly true. A man cannot be deceived in what he *perceives*, any more than he can be in what he *sees*, *hears*, or *feels*. Things must appear to the mind just as they offer themselves to it; if the *Understanding*, which is the *perceptive* faculty of the mind, be in a proper condition to receive objects, and the mind applies itself properly for such a reception, things will appear, as they really are in themselves; if the intellectual faculty be naturally defective, or if the mind be not sufficiently attentive, either thro' carelessness, prepossession, or any other means, things may appear different from what they are; yet, in both cases things appear to the mind, whether truly or falsely, always as they are offered to it. Just as it is in respect to our *senses*; *sensations* are excited *necessarily*; objects must appear as they are presented. If, for instance, the organ of sight be in its natural disposition, a proper object, at a due distance, thro' a proper medium, will appear to the mind as it really is in nature; but if the organ in itself be any ways defective, or if the object be at too great a distance, or seen thro' a false medium, things will not appear in their true shape and colour: yet still, be the ap-
pearances,

pearances true or false, they must be such as they are offered. But then, as in the exercise of our *senses* things do not always appear to be what they really are, (which appearances are yet necessarily such as they are presented to the mind) the mind is *free* to *judge* or *determine* within itself whether those appearances be true or false, till it has fully considered the matter ; so likewise is it in respect to the *perception* of *intellectual* objects, tho' they will appear to the mind such as they offer themselves, yet the *judgment* or *determination*, which the mind makes concerning the truth of those appearances, is *free*. If, for instance, our author's performance has fallen into the hands of any persons, who read without attention, without a capacity for such subjects, or with a strong inclination to favour his scheme, it is possible that to such persons his arguments, weak and obscure as they are, may appear strong and clear ; and, while their incapacity, inattention, or strong prejudices continue, his arguments will necessarily appear to them such as they offer themselves ; but they are under no *necessity* of *judging* his arguments to be as strong and clear, as they at first appeared to be ; they may *suspend* their *judgment* till they have attentively examined the force of them, as also the state of their own heart, whether they be not under the influence of *party prejudice* and *passion*, and whether the subject be suited to their capacities and habit of thinking.

That

That the mind has actually a liberty of *suspending* its *judgment* or *determination* concerning the truth of its *perceptions*, and that in many instances it can forbear making *any judgment* at all, is what every man, that attends to the operations of his own mind, must experience in himself, tho' there may be some insuperable difficulties in our conceptions concerning *free-will*. We are inwardly conscious of such a freedom; our consciousness is a thing wherein we cannot be mistaken, any more than we can be mistaken in any other *simple sensation*. We may as well dispute whether we really feel any painful or pleasing sensations, as whether we do really experience a power of attending or not attending to the consideration of any subject, of judging or not judging about it. Our author obliged me to make this digression about *free-will*, because his argument, drawn from the *passiveness* of the mind in its *perceptions*, destroys the notion of *agency* in us. I shall conclude this head with a short observation upon another mistake of his, in stiling *Speculative Errors*, Errors of the *judgment*; tho' in this mistake he has the good luck to be kept in countenance by Dr. *Whitby*. I remember, in his notes upon the *Epistles*, speaking of the *essential* doctrines of Christianity, the Doctor observes, that *matters of judgment* were not in the number of *Fundamentals*. I presume (for he does not explain himself) he means, with our author, some

notions or *speculations* about the *Trinity*, or other *mysterious* doctrines. But what an absurd manner of speaking is this? It supposes that *some* Errors are not Errors of the judgment. What are they then? Or what is Error, but a false *judgment* or *determination* of the mind concerning the truth of our *perceptions*? All Errors must relate to the *judgment*, and to *that only*. Our author speaks also of Errors of the *Understanding*; where, by *Understanding* he must mean either the *judgment*, or the *perceptive faculty*, both which I have already explained. He seems to confound the *judgment*, the *Understanding*, and *Perception* together, whereas *perception* is previous to the *judgment*, and the foundation of it. The *perceptive faculty* of the mind does not properly *perform any operations*, but receives *impressions*, internal notices of things, as the bodily eye receives impressions from external objects; but the *judgment* belongs to the *will*, which implies *action*; it is an act of the mind, determining concerning those notices which appear to the *perceptive faculty*.

His next argument (tho' he calls it the *fifth*, having divided one into three, or four, all of them resolving into the *involuntary* nature of *speculative Error*) is at the beginning of the last paragraph of the 7th page, and is only the consequence of the former argument. *Error*, he says, *cannot be punishable, because we cannot repent of Error*; where, by *repenting* he does not mean *retroacting*

an Error, but explains himself after this manner ; a man can have no sting of Conscience, no remorse, no self-condemning notions, for having been in an Error, unless it has affected his actions ; which, at the bottom of the page, he proves thus : *As 'tis a contradiction to be fully persuaded of any point, and repent of it at the same time, 'twill follow that Error cannot be repented of.* The gentleman shewed some judgment at the end of his book, when he put in a caveat against *carping at words*, for a captious reader may frequently take advantage of the impropriety of his expressions. I guess, that by Error, in this last passage, he means *speculative* Error, and not Error in general, because, not only the proceeding passage, but many other places, and even his whole scheme, expressly limit the signification to such Errors only ; but hasty readers will unavoidably be led into mistakes by such writers. But, I presume, his argument, when properly expressed, must run thus,

Men cannot be punished for what they cannot repent of, or be sorry for :

They cannot repent of, or be sorry for having been in speculative Errors :

Therefore they cannot be punished for having been in speculative Errors.

The first, or major proposition, viz. that men cannot be punished for what they cannot repent of, or be sorry for,

will readily be granted ; but that *men cannot repent of, or be sorry for having been in speculative Errors*, is the point disputed, and which our author proves in a most extraordinary manner. I shall once more put his argument into the form of a *syllogism*, that, if possible, he may see the fallacy of it.

If a man cannot be fully persuaded of any point, and repent of it at the same time, he cannot repent of or be sorry for having been formerly in a speculative Error :

But a man cannot be fully persuaded of any point and repent of it at the same time :

Therefore a man cannot repent of or be sorry for having been formerly in a speculative Error.

I have added *formerly*, because *have been* signifies the *time past* ; from whence the reader will easily see a double defect in this argument. For, 1st, tho' our author and his friends cannot be fully persuaded of any point and repent of it at the same time, they may, and I hope they will live to be convinced of their Error ; and, after their conviction, they may repent and be sorry for having entertained and so industriously propagated it.

2^{dly}, Tho' to be fully persuaded of any truth and to repent of such persuasion at the same time, is an impossibility, yet to be fully persuaded of a truth and to be *punishable* for the belief of such a truth, are very consistent things, because it may be his own fault that he is so fully persuaded.

But

But his argument, were there any force in it, would prove *practical* Errors as innocent as *speculative* ones. For, if a man be fully *persuaded*, tho' *erroneously*, of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any *action*, it is impossible he should be so *fully persuaded* and *repent* of that action during the continuance of such a persuasion; and, if he cannot *repent* of it, he cannot, in this writer's opinion, be *punished* for it. Either the consequence is good in respect to every instance of persuasion, or in none at all. This is the usual unhappiness of our author's reasoning; but here he has been at some pains to confute himself. *A man*, says he, *p. 7. can have no self-condemning notions for having been under a mistake, unless it has affected his actions.* For, ——— what would any man expect should follow? Something, no doubt, in proof of his assertion; instead of which, he not only proves a different proposition, but one destructive of the distinction which he had made between *speculative* and *practical* Errors; shewing, that *both* are equally innocent. For, says he, *Error being a mistake of the judgment, it must direct and guide our actions as much as truth itself.* Now the sway of truth is, by directing our actions according to our judgment; and if *That be mistaken, or misguided, the effect must be the same as of truth, as flowing from the same principle.* If then an *erroneous judgment must direct and guide our actions as much as*

a *well informed* one, we can no more *repent* of such actions, than of mere *notions* or *speculations*, which have no influence upon our *actions*.

These are the only arguments which are offered in this performance to prove the *innocency* of *speculative* Errors, as distinguished from *practical* ones, *viz.*

1. That *speculative* Errors are *involuntary*.
2. That we cannot *repent* of such Errors.

But at the 2d page of the preface, which is prefixed to the 2d Edition of his book, by way of defence or vindication of it, he gives us another reason why *speculative* Errors cannot be *punishable*, *viz.*

That the evil lies not in them, strictly speaking, but in that peculiar frame and disposition of mind which tends to betray men into them.

This reason is urged by another *popular* writer, (Mr. Chubb) in a discourse concerning *persecution*: a writer less obscure and intricate in the manner of stating his notions, but equally opiniated and self-sufficient, without a proper foundation to support such an opinion of himself. Whether these two writers fell naturally into the same way of thinking, or whether Mr. Chubb condescended to be beholden to our author, the argument, upon examination, might serve Mr. Chubb's purpose as little as it does *this gentleman's*; but at present I am only to consider it in respect to the *innocency* of *speculative* Errors.

And

And he could not possibly have thought of a more unfortunate reason ; it undeniably proves that *speculative* and *practical* Errors are *equally punishable*. For, if the *evil* of any Error lies in the *frame or disposition of mind* which occasions it, *speculative* Errors of any kind may sometimes, and often are, occasioned by an *evil frame and disposition of mind*, and consequently, according to our author, are *punishable*. *Philosophers* frequently take up erroneous opinions, and continue in them thro' *pride* and *self-conceit*, or thro' a *spirit of opposition*; such a *frame and disposition of mind* is undoubtedly *evil*, and, according to his argument, every erroneous opinion occasioned by them is likewise evil. Thus again *practical* Errors are not always owing to an *evil frame and disposition*, but to want of *ability* or *opportunity* of enquiry ; wherever, then, the *frame and disposition of mind*, from whence *practical* Errors arise, is *innocent*, such Errors our author is obliged, upon his own principles, to acquit of any guilt, tho' the concession destroys his whole scheme; the distinction between *speculative* and *practical* Errors in respect to their *innocency*.

'Tis time now (to use our author's own words once more upon this occasion) *to look back and view the ground we have gone over*. I have taken the liberty to alter the latter part of the expression ; for, tho' to *look back and view the ground we stand upon*, as he expresses himself,

may

may be possible, as far as I know, yet it is not a proper way of speaking. But to borrow the metaphor without criticising on the phrase. Upon a review, I see, we have travelled over a great deal of ground, thro' many blind and almost unpassable roads of absurdity and self-contradiction, and are at last arrived at the very spot from whence we set out. If this be our author's cautious way of *proceeding step by step* in a dispute, it brings to my mind the story of a person who divided *Christian runners* into three sorts, the last of which *stood still*. He has said, and unsaid, or said nothing to the purpose. His arguments prove nothing, too much, or something foreign to the question. Not one argument is advanced respecting the innocency of *speculations* or *notions* in particular, as distinguished from *practical* truths, tho' That was confessedly the design of his book, but only such as either prove *all* Errors *innocent*, or *all* *punishable*. I shall therefore try to go, if not to *the bottom* of this question, yet a little farther into it than he, or his fellow-labourers, seem to me to have done.

When *Speculations* or *Notions*, as being *confined to the mind*, are opposed to *practical* truths, or as such have an influence upon our *actions*, they do not mean *any* external action whatsoever. For *action*, as action, is no more *criminal* or *punishable*, than *Error* or *Thought*, considered absolutely *as such*. Our *external actions*, considered in them-

themselves, are like the motions of any other piece of inanimate matter, which is actuated by some other being; and they are criminal, or innocent, only as they are directed by the *soul*, which is an *intelligent agent*. It does not therefore follow that an Error is punishable, because it has a connection with *practice*, considering practice *simply* as an *external action*, because action, *as such*, is as *indifferent* in its nature as *absolute thought*; and, consequently, every argument that proves the necessary innocency of *simple* or *speculative* Errors, from the *indifferent* nature of such Errors, will as strongly prove the innocency of *practice*, considered *simply* as an *external action*: So that, if God cannot require the belief of certain *speculations* or *notions*, only because such truths have no *inherent* goodness in them, separate from the positive command of God, for the same reason he cannot require the performance of *external actions* which are of an *indifferent nature*. These cases are exactly parallel; and every argument, drawn from the *speculative* nature of any doctrine in proof of the *innocency* of Error or Ignorance concerning it, will equally affect our obligation to the performance of any *external action*, the *antecedent fitness* of which does not appear to us from the *relation* and *reason* of things. So that, in the opinion of these writers, there neither is nor can be any duty or obligation arising properly from the *authority* of the *legislator*,

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but solely from the *antecedent fitness* of the things commanded. For, if God should at any time be pleased to make a revelation to his creatures, unless he reveals also the *reasonableness* and *fitness* of every part of it, we, it seems, are not obliged to obey him; which absolutely destroys the *legislative authority* of God, and makes him only the means of informing us of our duty, but not the fountain of that *authority*, from whence our duty arises. Suppose a person directs one of his *equals* to do a certain thing, if the thing appears to the person directed *fit* and *reasonable* to be done, the *direction* will have the same binding force as if it were the *command* of one who was invested with the most proper *authority*, which any being is capable of having over another. Or should a *command* come from one in *authority* to another properly subjected to his *jurisdiction*, it would nevertheless carry no obligation along with it, till the *fitness* of it appears to the person to whom it is given; the *apparent fitness* of things being, in the opinion of some, the proper source of *all* obligation. Where then is the notion of *jurisdiction*, of *power*, and *authority*? The very ideas, to which these terms are annexed, are vanished. They must imply, if they mean any thing at all, that the *superior* has a power of giving laws, of prescribing rules of action to his *inferiors*, properly subjected to his *jurisdiction*; which power he has not, if the duty of *obeying* arises *solely* from the *fitness* of
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of the command, and not from the *authority* of the person, who imposes it. In this sense it is no command at all; the subject has as much right to command his sovereign, as the sovereign has to command his subject. He can tell him what is *fit* and *reasonable* for him to do,—which is all the authority that the sovereign has over his subject, upon this supposition. But the case is otherwise; the *Creator* of the world is the *Governour* of it; in right of his *dominion*, he has the sole *prerogative* of giving such laws for our government, as seem best to his infinite wisdom. His *will* is the *only law* to us his creatures, from whence *our duty* and *obligation* properly arise. The *fitness* of things is to him the *reason* or *motive* of his commands, and to us the means of discovering his will, wherever he has not vouchsafed us the benefit of an *external revelation*. But, if the *will* of God be, as it certainly is, the *rule* of our actions; if *God*, in right of his *dominion* over us, has authority to prescribe laws to us, they are obligatory, tho' the subject matter of them seems ever so *indifferent in itself*. If he requires the performance of any external action, or the belief of any doctrine, without acquainting us with the wise ends to which his all-wise providence will make those things subservient, it is *rebellion* in us to refuse obedience to his commands. Thus much Mr. Chubb seems to own in favour of *positive institutions*, at the 16th page of his *sup-*

plement to the previous question; says he, In all those cases where there is no apparent *unsfitness*, and where we are satisfied of the divinity of the command,— there This (the command itself, he must mean) will be a reason for our compliance. In consequence of which concession it must follow, that the command of God will be as good a reason for our belief of *mere speculative doctrines*, as he allows it to be for the performance of an *action*, whose *antecedent fitness* we are not able to discover: unless he could shew, that there is an *antecedent unsfitness* in requiring the belief of *doctrines*, tho' not in the performance of *external actions*, indifferent in their own nature. It is agreeable to the moral fitness of things, that creatures should obey their Creator; which they absolutely refuse to do, if they demand any other reason, besides his *positive command*, for their obedience.

When Mr. Chubb says, in his previous question, That God does not-act arbitrarily, and that there can be no duties of *mere arbitrary appointment*, he means no more than this; That, as God is a wise and good being, he must have some wise and good end in all his commands *antecedent* to them, which is the reason or motive inducing him to command. To act without some *antecedent reason* for acting in such a manner, is not to act wisely; and to entertain such a notion of the all-wise governour of the world, is the highest blasphemy.

In this opinion we shall join issue. Nay, I will concede a little more to him than he seems to demand, *viz.* That it is agreeable to my imperfect conceptions of the Divine Being, that in all his actions he not only proposes some *good end*, which intention is *antecedent* to every action, but that (where any ends or means are preferable to each other) he always proposes the *best end*; and makes choice of the *fittest means* for the accomplishment of it. I think, to suppose otherwise of him, is to destroy the notion of the *infinity* of his *goodness*, or of his *wisdom*. But what advantage will they be able to make of this concession, in prejudice of *positive institutions*, which may have the *wisest reasons* for their appointment, tho' those reasons do not appear to *us*? Certain *actions* (by which I do not mean only *external actions*, but any act of the *mind*) seem to us to be of an *indifferent nature*: That is, they do not seem to have a *natural tendency* towards effecting some *good end*. The belief of certain truths do not seem, of *themselves*, conducive to the improvement, the perfection, and happiness of the mind; from whence they would infer, that it is not consistent with a *wise being* to command any thing which, in the nature of it, can answer no *wise end*. And true it is, that *wisdom*, in all its operations, must intend something agreeable to its own nature. To talk otherwise is a contradiction in terms; but an action, which

to us seems to have no such *natural fitness*, may, by the direction of *infinite wisdom*, be made subservient to certain good purposes. It may be very expedient to make such actions the subject of a divine command, as a proper trial of our humility and obedience; of our readiness to submit *our* wisdom to *God's*, and to acknowledge his *legislative authority* by an *implicit* observance of his commands. Nay, they seem, in some respects, the most proper means of giving us a more awful sense both of the *power* and *dominion* of God over us, to whose glory all our actions ought either *actually* or *virtually* to tend. Corrupt and degenerate as our nature is, there will generally be a degree of complacency attending our observance of those laws which approve themselves to our *reason*; in which cases it is difficult to distinguish between *duty* and *inclination*; whether the ease and satisfaction which we feel within us when we act agreeably to the dictates of our minds, be the only motive of our actions, or whether we act upon a principle of *love* and *obedience* to *God*. But where we can discern no other reason besides the *command* of *God*, why we should act after such a manner, we then pay the most *absolute* regard to his *authority*. These are ends worthy of the Divine Wisdom; it is *fit* and *reasonable* that *creatures* should have the most awful sense of the *dominion* of their *Creator*; that *they* should be in a constant disposition to *obey* him; and that *they*

they should resign, with all humility, their *imperfect* understandings to the direction of *omniscience*. It is impossible, absolutely impossible, for the united strength of human reason to shew, that these good ends may not be promoted by such *positive injunctions*, tho' the subject matter of them seems *indifferent*, as to their *natural effects*. Mr. Chubb has observed very justly, *Suppl. p. 16. That, as God sees thro', and to the end of things, and thereby has a perfect view of all the circumstances and consequences, which attend our actions, so he must see wherein the fitness or unfitness of every action lies; and consequently must be a much better judge, not only in MANT, (as he most irreverently expresses himself) but in ALL cases, than man can possibly be, whose views are vastly contracted.* I may safely rest the whole cause upon this single point; let any man shew, that in requiring the belief of a *doctrine merely speculative*, or the performance of an *external action*, as *indifferent* in its nature, as any action can be, God can have no *wise* and *good end*. I would only observe, that, in order to qualify himself for such an undertaking, he must acquire a distinct view of the whole extent of causes and effects; or, in other words, he must be *omniscient*. It is not sufficient that we perceive no *fitness* in a command, because no conclusive argument can be drawn from *our ignorance*, but we must see distinctly and clearly an *unfitness*, before we can reject
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a command as unworthy of the wisdom of God. Altho', therefore, there are no duties of *mere arbitrary appointment*, if they mean only, that in all his commands God hath regard to some *wise and good end*, worthy of his own perfections, yet in respect to *our obedience*, and *his legislative authority*, there *may* be arbitrary commands, because we may be obliged to *obey* them, *solely* on account of *his authority*, without knowing *explicitly* the *reasons* of his enjoining them. *Arbitrary* is sometimes used to signify *humoursome* or *capricious*, but it oftner, and more properly, signifies *absolute*; and a Prince is said to be *absolute*, when *his will* is the law to his subjects, tho' at the same time he makes the rules of justice, wisdom, and goodness a law to *himself* in his administration. His government is said to be *absolute* or *arbitrary*, in that *his will* or *pleasure* carries a sufficient obligation to obedience from his subjects, without assigning the *reasons* by which it is directed; neither is it always thought agreeable to the rules of *wisdom* for *civil governors* to publish the *reasons* of their conduct, tho' mankind of late have been so forward to reject the commands of the *universal unlimited* and *all-wise governor*, unless agreeable to their own contracted notions of the *natural fitness of things*.

But to reconcile our adversaries the more easily to the *positive* part of religion, it may be of some use to consider distinctly the opposition between things *good in themselves*,

selves, and therefore *obligatory* in their *own nature*, and such things as receive their force from the sanction of *divine authority*. The *moral duties*, because arising from the *immutable relation* of things, are acknowledged to have an *inherent goodness* or *fitness* in them, and to be of *perpetual obligation*; certain other duties, not subsisting, as is supposed, upon any such *antecedent immutable reasons*, but the *pleasure* of the *legislator*, are said to be of *positive institution*. This distinction, unless clearly understood, may mislead us into a disregard of *Divine Ordinances*.

The *positive duties*, as they are usually termed, have a *real goodness* in them, because they were appointed on account of a certain *fitness of things*. But then *this fitness*, in respect to *some* of those institutions, after a certain period of time, *expired*; and in *none* of them was it *coæval* with the relation of things, upon which the fitness of *moral duties* is founded.

For instance, in consequence of God's intention to offer up his only begotten Son as a sacrifice for mankind, it might be *fit* and *expedient*, because *subservient* to *wise* and *good purposes*, to appoint *typical sacrifices*; and after that our Blessed Lord had actually offered up himself, it might be equally fit and expedient, because equally conducive to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind, to appoint an institution *commemorative* of

this great sacrifice. Now whatever has a *fitness* in it, considered as a *means* of promoting a wise and good end, may be said to be *properly* and *really* good; yet such duties may, notwithstanding, be said to be *less* excellent than the *moral* duties, which are grounded upon a certain *order* or *relation* of things, fixed *originally* at the *creation* of the world, never to alter till the end of it; whose *fitness* does not respect any *particular* people, or *period* of *time*; and which are therefore at *all times*, and under *all possible circumstances*, subservient to God's glory, and the happiness of his creatures: However, the duties of *both* kinds, as far as they are a *fit means* of promoting a *good end*, are undoubtedly *good*, by reason of *that fitness*. For, what do we, or can we mean, when we say, that the *moral duties* are duties on account of their *own intrinsic goodness*, or for their *own sake*, but only that such actions, from the *relation* of things to one another, are *naturally* the *means* of *producing good*? Their *fitness* arises from the *connection* between their *tendency* and some *good*; which, no doubt, (tho' we are not able so clearly to discern it in every, or in any instance) is the case of all the *ordinances* which God was pleased to give either to the *Jews*, or to *us Christians*. They were *fitted* and *adapted* to certain circumstances; under those *particular* circumstances they had a *tendency* in them to answer certain *good ends*: During the *continuance* of the *same* circumstances,

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the *relation* between *them*, and the *good ends* to which they had, or have, a *fitness* in them to produce, is, and will be, as *immutable* and *necessary*, as the relation of things in the several instances of *moral duties*. The difference seems to be this; the circumstances, upon which the *fitness* of *ordinances* is grounded, are *mutable*, whereas those actions which we call *moral*, or *immoral*, are *immutable* in their tendencies, and therefore *always* good in their *nature*: But in *both* cases, wherever there is a *fitness* between an *action* and some *good end*, That action has a *real goodness* in it. The reason why its *goodness* or *fitness*, under those *particular circumstances*, does not oblige mankind to the performance of it, without an *express command* from *God*, is, because mankind by the *light* of *nature* could not have discovered it, as we are able to do in the case of *moral duties*; for which reason, as I apprehend, such actions are called *positive institutions*. Their obligation arises wholly from an *express command*, because we have no other way of knowing it to be the *will* of *God* that we should perform them. But, could we clearly discover the *fitness* of those actions without the help of an *external revelation*, our obligation to the performance of them might be regularly deduced from *thence*, because our *reason* informs us, that it must be the *will* of a *wise* and *good Being*, to have his creatures govern themselves

by the rules of *wisdom* and *goodness*, which are the measure of his *own* actions.

This digression (if that may be called a digression which has so necessary a connection with my subject) may deserve the consideration of those who think that *the moral duties are the things which alone are required by God in order to salvation*. They may reasonably be desired to suspend their dislike to *positive institutions*, till they can prove, more satisfactorily than it is possible for any man to do, that such institutions are not *wise and good, worthy of God, and beneficial to us*. I have endeavoured the more carefully to set this matter in a true light, because of the consequences of it upon the truth of *revelation*. According to the principles, against which I have been arguing, men will unavoidably be led to reject every part of the *Scriptures*, besides what respects *morality*; and a disbelief of *one* part of revelation, will soon be followed by a disbelief of the *whole*. I am unwilling to bring a direct charge of Deism against any *particular* writer; but the present favourite opinions, so industriously propagated, and so greedily received, tend in their proper consequences to introduce it; and I cannot help thinking it to be the design of these writers in *general*, to seduce people into *Deism*, without incurring the censure and odium of so mischievous an undertaking, by a more open profession. I wish what I have offered may be of any use
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to guard unwary readers against embracing their schemes, before they have well weighed them.

I hope I have sufficiently established my opinion concerning *speculative doctrines*; but, before I conclude this discourse, I shall mention one argument which I find in Mr. Chub's *previous question*. This argument I have reserved for the conclusion, that I might not interrupt the thread of the discourse.

At the 27th page, speaking of *speculative* points, where the *moral fitness* of things can give us no light, he says, *It ought to be remembered, that God will either so clearly deliver such points as that there shall be no place for Error, or else he will excuse all Errors which may arise from them, it being most absurd to suppose, that a wise and good Being should give a revelation in a way in which it is liable to be misunderstood, and then be displeased with his creatures if they mistake the meaning of it; seeing such Errors are not, in the nature of the thing, a proper foundation for resentment.* It is usually the fate of these writers to defend their *peculiarities* upon such principles as subvert religion in general.

Speculative doctrines, he says, are innocent, unless they are so clearly revealed as to leave no place for Error.

If this argument be conclusive, not only *speculative*, but *all* Errors are innocent, because, if there be room for Error, he thinks it inconsistent with the wisdom and good-

goodness of God to punish men for *erring*; but if this writer believes *Christianity*, or even the *moral fitness of things*, his belief is a confutation of his own argument: For, there is *room for Error* even in *these* points, and yet there is no *necessity* that a man should be either *ignorant* or *mistaken* concerning them. Now, if we are capable of *understanding* and *believing* any *speculative* truth, we may be *punished* for *not* understanding and believing it. Or, will Mr. *Chub* deny that God may, under certain penalties, require any thing which it is in our power to perform; which, however, his argument obliges him to deny, or else there is no force in it. Let us try how it holds when applied to *sin in general*. It is *absurd and ridiculous to suppose, that a wise and good Being should create us capable of sinning, or leave room for sin, and yet be displeased with us for sinning*. It would be a much more absurd thing to lay us under the necessity of assenting to any truth, and then be pleased with, or reward us for, believing. In short, he destroys the notion of virtue and vice, of a state of trial and probation, and takes away the foundation of rewards and punishments.

I am told, that this writer has no small share of credit with his *party*, but it is to me somewhat difficult to conceive how such extravagant and wild and pernicious opinions should meet with a favourable reception,
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while there is any regard to *religion*, or the peace and welfare of *society*, any *common sense* remaining among us. Probably, in a time of so much *indulgence*, not to say *licentiousness*, I may be thought to speak with too much warmth and zeal; but I am speaking, as I think, in defence of every thing that is valuable, and worthy of our most affectionate concern. It does not arise from any *personal* prejudices towards the *men*, for I am not known to any of them; nor from *party considerations*, for *religion* and the *publick good* can be of *no party*; but from a sincere conviction of the dangerous tendency of their principles. A *spirit of meekness*, I acknowledge, is a *true Christian spirit*; but to be *zealously affected in a good thing*, is an *Apostolical* rule, of equal authority, and very consistent with it. *Charity* likewise, and *moderation*, are virtues of a most excellent nature, and of the highest estimation with God; but they are sometimes counterfeited by a *Laodicean lukewarmness*, and the *unconcernedness* of *Gallio*; and a *Christian* (*) *Divine* can, not only labour to lessen the crimes of *Heresy* and *Schism*, but contemptuously stile them *Theological Scarecrows*, frightful only to such foolish people as are not able to see thro' the appearances of danger, with which the superstition of ignorant, or the policy of designing

(*) The author of the *Innocency of Error*, p. 28.

people.

people have cloathed them. I have not heard, that he ever met with any publick disgrace or discountenance, for publishing such an opinion, so rudely and vulgarly expressed; but history tells us how it would have fared with him, had he lived in those times when *Church censures* were duly executed.





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I T was the design of the former Discourse to consider the nature of *speculative* doctrines; and to shew that the belief of such Truths may be required of us by God. We are next to enquire into the nature of the Doctrine relating to the *Trinitarian* Controversy, whether it *be* so purely *speculative*, or *notional*, as our Adversaries represent it. We shall industriously avoid repeating what has been already offered, any further than our present subject makes it necessary. Thus much I must desire the Reader to remember, that by *Notions*, or *Speculations*, they understand such *Truths* as have no *connection*

nection with practice, such as are confin'd to the mind; of which kind they imagin the Trinity, and other mysterious points of Christianity, to be; thence inferring the Innocency of Error or Ignorance concerning them. This is the Scheme upon which so great a stress has been laid; and yet, were it capable of being supported by the clearest and strongest arguments, after all it will not serve the cause for the sake of which it was invented. For, tho' we should grant, that Notions or Speculations, for the reasons alledged by them, are not capable of being made terms of Salvation, they have not considered distinctly, or so much as attempted to consider, the principal question; which is, whether the Doctrine relating to the Trinity, be such a point of meer Speculation. Wherefore, it might be thought sufficient, in answer to what they have said upon the subject of speculative doctrines, to deny that the Trinitarian doctrine is intirely speculative, or confin'd to the mind, because it has a necessary connection with practice, to which Speculation is directly opposed. A point so absolutely necessary to the purposes of their Scheme, we might reasonably require them to prove, before they can be thought justly to deserve any answer from us; they go upon this supposition, that the Trinity and other mysterious doctrines of Christianity are purely SPECULATIVE; if we deny their postulatam (and we have as much right to deny, as they have

have to *assert*, without proof) their whole *fabrick* falls to the ground. But, tho' the labour of the proof lies properly upon them, I shall offer a few things to their consideration, concerning the nature of the *Trinitarian* doctrine, to shew, that it is a matter of *practice*, as well as *Speculation*; a point which greatly affects the Scheme of Christianity, and consequently our eternal Salvation.

That *Christian worship* is a *practical* matter, will hardly be denied by these *speculative* writers; neither need I here distinguish between *mental* and *bodily* worship, between the *internal* addresses of our minds, and such as are accompanied with *external* actions: because *both* kinds, if *either* of them, will be allowed to have a connection with the doctrine of the *Trinity*. That *Christian worship* is connected with the belief of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, may easily be demonstrated from principles agreed on by both sides. I think, I may venture to call it an *allowed* principle, That *God* is to be *worshipped*; from whence it must necessarily follow, that if there be three coequal *distinct persons* in the *Godhead*, and it be sufficiently revealed that there *are*, they have, *each* of them, an *equal* claim to our *worship*. Were there no particular command in the *Gospel* for the worship of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, yet, whoever believes them to be *truly* and *properly* *God*, the *one* *God* with the *Father*, he must think himself obliged to worship them
equally

equally with God the Father. This would be a deduction, tho' *human*, yet necessary and obvious. The Argument is short and easy.

Our God is to be worshipped by us.

The Son and Holy Ghost, with the Father, are our God:

Therefore the Son and Holy Ghost, with the Father, are to be worshipped by us.

If the *premises* be revealed, *viz.* That God is to be worshipped, and that the Son and Holy Ghost are God, the *conclusion* is undeniably clear, that the Son and Holy Ghost are *equally* intitled to worship: which shews, that a doctrine, or practice, may be *necessary to Salvation*, tho' it be not contained in *express* words in *Scripture*. For, a *deduction* from *express* words, where it is clear and obvious, may as properly be said to be *revealed*, as the *express Truth* from whence the *deduction* is so clearly and easily drawn. Whatever God has given us a sufficient capacity of *knowing*, such a Truth, in respect to all the purposes of a Revelation, and to our obligation to the belief of it, he has *sufficiently revealed*, and may require the belief of it, as a necessary term of his favour and acceptance. I shall not here enlarge upon this observation, but my Argument gave me a fair opportunity of hinting it, and our Adversaries have made it very seasonable.

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Not that the point of *worship*, especially in respect to the *Son*, rests altogether upon the authority of any human *deductions*, but is supported both by *example* and *precept*. I do not intend to enter into the particulars of this matter, (which have been so fully examined by more able hands) tho' I am obliged to mention them. I shall refer the Reader to the 7th of the *Acts* and the 59th Verse; the 3^d of the 1st *Epistle* to the *Thess.* and the 11th Verse, and the 10th of *Rom.* and the 13th Verse; where he will find the *Invocation* of *Christ* both *practised* and *recommended*. At the 5th of the *Revelations* and the 10th Verse: The *Lamb* of *God* is declared to be *worthy to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory*. At *Heb.* 1st and the 6th there is an express command to worship him: *And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him*. From the Authorities now cited, we might prove, that the same sort or degree of *divine worship* is due to the *Son*, which we pay to the *Father*: but my design obliges me only to prove, what has been generally *allowed*, that the *Son* is to be *worshipped*. Now, if *Christian worship* be thus *connected* with the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and if worship be a matter of *practice*, then the doctrine of the *Trinity* is not a point of *mere Speculation*, *confined to the mind*; consequently their *Scheme* about *speculative* doctrines.

doctrines can be of no service in a controversy concerning the duty and importance of believing the doctrine of the *Trinity*.

But it seems, it is pretended by some, that it is *lawful*, but not *necessary*, to worship the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*; a thing perfectly *indifferent*, whether it be done, or omitted by us. This is a notion entirely novel, unscriptural, and absurd. The *Arians* have the credit of the discovery, they being the first who ever taught, that *divine worship* is an *indifferent* action.

The *Heathens* were directed, either by the light of *Nature*, or by *Tradition*, to pay *divine worship*; and, tho' they were many times mistaken in the *proper object* of their worship, and paid it where it was not *due*, yet they always considered it as a matter of *Duty*, a Tribute *due* to their God, or Gods, and not as a *civil compliment* that might be omitted without any *injury* or *offence*.

The *Jewish* Law did not make any alteration in respect to the *general duty*, but only instructed the people in the right manner of performing it, and directed them to the *proper object* of their worship. The world *before* paid *divine worship*; and whether they paid it to *one* or to *more* Beings, they paid it always as a *debt* due to them. The Law of *Moses* instructed the *Jews* to whom this *debt* of *Homage* was due, and after what manner it was to be paid; not to *many*, but to *one* God, the

Lord

Lord of Heaven and Earth. They were absolutely *commanded* to worship the *true God*, and as absolutely *forbidden* to worship any *other* Being; because divine worship is God's *rightful claim*, arising from the relation we stand in towards him; and therefore, if we neglect to give him That homage to which he has a *natural Right*; or if we give his *Right* to *another*, to whom it is not due, we *injure* him, and are guilty of a *breach of duty*.

The *Christian Revelation* makes still *farther* discoveries concerning the object of worship. The *Jews* were instructed, that *one God* only was the *true God*, to whom *alone* they were to direct their worship: the *Gospel* confirms That instruction, and informs us, that the *three Persons* in the sacred and ever-blessed *Trinity* are the *one true God*. The *Jews* worshipped *one God*, and *Christians* worship *three persons* in *one Godhead*. *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; This is the plain Law of both Covenants, but *our Lord God* is *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, *three distinct persons* united in *one undivided nature*. Thus *every dispensation* considered *divine worship* as an *indispensable duty*, and only directed mankind to pay it to a *proper object*; not leaving them *at liberty* either to *give*, or *with-hold* it at *pleasure*. That the *true God* has a *Right* to be worshipped; that it is our *duty* to give unto him *That Right*; and that we *injure* and *offend* him by giving

doctrines can be of no service in a controversy concerning the duty and importance of believing the doctrine of the *Trinity*.

But it seems, it is pretended by some, that it is *lawful*, but not *necessary*, to worship the *Son* and the *Holy Ghost*; a thing perfectly *indifferent*, whether it be done, or omitted by us. This is a notion entirely novel, unscriptural, and absurd. The *Arians* have the credit of the discovery, they being the first who ever taught, that *divine worship* is an *indifferent* action.

The *Heathens* were directed, either by the light of *Nature*, or by *Tradition*, to pay *divine worship*; and, tho' they were many times mistaken in the *proper object* of their worship, and paid it where it was not *due*, yet they always considered it as a matter of *Duty*, a Tribute *due* to their God, or Gods, and not as a *civil compliment* that might be omitted without any *injury* or *offence*.

The *Jewish* Law did not make any alteration in respect to the *general duty*, but only instructed the people in the right manner of performing it, and directed them to the *proper object* of their worship. The world before paid *divine worship*; and whether they paid it to *one* or to *more* Beings, they paid it always as a *debt* due to them. The Law of *Moses* instructed the *Jews* to whom this *debt* of *Homage* was due, and after what manner it was to be paid; not to *many*, but to *one* God, the

Lord of Heaven and Earth. They were absolutely *commanded* to worship the *true God*, and as absolutely *forbidden* to worship any *other* Being; because divine worship is God's *rightful claim*, arising from the relation we stand in towards him; and therefore, if we neglect to give him That homage to which he has a *natural Right*; or if we give his *Right* to *another*, to whom it is not due, we *injure* him, and are guilty of a *breach of duty*.

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giving to any *other* being what he claims as due *only* to *himself*; these are truths, one would think, too obvious to be disputed. If the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, with the *Father*, be the *true God*, whom *Christians* are to worship, then they have a *Right* to our worship; if they be *not* the true God, then they have *no Right*: again, if they have a *Right* to our worship, we ought in point of *duty* to give it; if they have *not* a *Right*, we ought not to give it them, because we thereby *injure* the *true God*, who is justly *intituled* to our worship, and has declared, that he will not *give his glory to another*. Upon This state of the case, the *Arians* must either give up the *lawfulness* of worshipping the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, or allow the *necessity* of doing it. From hence also, I might shew the absurdity of their distinction between *Subordinate* and *Ultimate* worship, because the *object* of *Christian* worship being only the *one true God*, the *same kind* and *degree* of divine worship must be due to *each person* in the *Godhead*. An *unity* of *nature* in the *object* must have an *unity* of *worship*; and if their be not an *unity* of *nature* in the *three persons*; if either *Son*, or *Holy Ghost*, be not, with the *Father*, the *one true God*, they ought not to be worshipped at all, because *all* divine worship is *appropriated* to the *one true God*. But at present I am only to prove in *general*, that worship is due to the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*,
which

which is the necessary consequence of their concessions concerning the *lawfulness* of worshipping them.

From what has been offered I think it appears undeniably true, that the doctrine of the *Trinity* is not a matter of *mere speculation*, because it has a necessary connection with *Christian worship*; that it is not a point of an *indifferent* nature; but of great *moment* and *importance* to the honour of God, and the salvation of Christians. For, however difficult it may be thought to state the notion of *essential* or *fundamental* doctrines, so as to determine positively upon every particular instance that may come under debate among Christians; yet there can be no doubt whether it be a point of very considerable consequence so to regulate the unity of the *Christian worship*, as that there may be no excess on one side, nor defect on the other.

When I first entered upon this subject, I had thoughts of considering how much more effectually the purposes of Christianity seem to be answer'd upon the *orthodox*; than upon the *Socinian*, or *Arian* Scheme; in that it heightens the love of God in the Redemption of Mankind; and best agrees with the several passages of Scripture relating to it; in that it is more satisfactory to our guilty fears of punishment for our sins, lays a surer and more certain foundation of hope of pardon and eternal

life, and raises a greater abhorrence of the guilt of Sin, which could not be remitted without the payment of such an inestimable price by way of satisfaction : I say all these purposes are thought by many great and good men, to be more effectually answered, by supposing the *divine nature* it self to be *personally* united to the *human nature*, for the work of our *Redemption*, than if our *Blessed Redeemer* were only a *mere Creature*, however excellent and exalted. But, as I was willing to advance nothing, if possible, that may be liable to be disputed, I chose rather to put the cause upon the single point of *worship*, against which, I think, there cannot lye any reasonable objection.

I did not intend to have detained the Reader any longer from a more useful and entertaining performance, but I find my self obliged to take notice of a *defence* of the *Innocency of Error asserted*, wherein the Author would be thought to disown the *Scheme* which he advanced in that discourse. He says in This defence (which indeed I never saw till after I had printed off my observations upon his Discourse) p. 7. *That it was not his design or thought, that all sorts of Error, except those which immediately relate to practice, are unblamable*; and he introduces the present Bishop of *Sarum* challenging the learned and worthy Bishop of *Oxford*, to name *one serious Author* who has laid down any such position : a challenge not to be accepted without

without manifest disadvantage to the person who accepts it ! for, had *twenty* writers instead of *one* been named, not *one* of them, perhaps, would have been allowed the character of a *serious* writer. And as to the above cited *declaration*, of his Lordship's *Friend*, by the help of one single word, properly placed, (*I will not say with design*) the *defender* may still maintain the opinion, with which he is charged, tho' he *seems* here to have given it up. The charge against this writer is, that he asserts the innocency of *merely speculative Errors*, such Errors as have *no connection with practice*. In answer to it, he says, it was not his thought, *that all sorts of Error*, except *those which IMMEDIATELY relate to practice* are *unblamable*. Thus by changing the state of the question he may, as far as I can tell, only have *concealed* his opinion, instead of *declaring* it. An *influence*, and an *immediate influence*, are not equivalent expressions. A Doctrine may *relate* to *practice*, tho' not *immediately*; it may have *connection with practice*, tho' a more *distant* and *remote* one; consequently This writer may be of the opinion, that *all Errors* are *innocent*, except those which some way or other have a *relation to practice*, tho' he does not maintain the innocency of *all* such Errors as do not *immediately* relate to it. The general opinion therefore with which he is charged, he is still at full liberty to hold without any contradiction to the declaration; which he has since made in his defence. But let

his *real* meaning be what it will, the *publick* is no farther concerned with a man's opinions, than to take them from the common and usual acceptation of his expressions. If a writer *expresses* one thing, and *means* another, the *world* is not in fault for misunderstanding him, but *he* for writing before he is capable of conveying his meaning intelligibly; and the Errors, into which he may be the occasion of leading ignorant or careless readers, are no less dangerous than if they were his *own real sentiments*. This writer, in the above mentioned discourse, has frequently asserted, in the most express terms imaginable, that Errors *meerly speculative*, or *confined to the mind*, which elsewhere he calls *notions*, in opposition to such as have *an influence upon practice*, are, and must be *innocent*. This general position he has over and over again laid down, and assigned reasons in support of it. Truths *speculative* and *practical*, he sets in *opposition* to one another; but this *distinction* is wholly destroyed, in respect to the *innocency* or *guilt* of such Errors, if the *innocency*, or *guilt* of them be owing *wholly* to something else, without any regard at all to their *speculative*, or *practical* nature. And after an opinion so plainly expressed, shall it be a sufficient vindication of *himself*, or satisfaction to the *world*, that he has in the same discourse laid down *contrary* positions? I am sensible, he *has* advanced *contradictory* opinions; whether *ignorantly* or *designedly*, it is impossible for me to determine; however, This *inconsistency* does not hinder
the

the propagation of a *beloved Scheme*, but only serves for an *evasive defence*, whenever it is attacked. This, I say, has been the conduct of *some* writers, when they wanted to guard a *novel* or *dangerous* opinion against publick censure. As to *This* writer, if he pleases, he shall be allowed to plead *ignorance*, but then he must be contented to take the *disgrace* that usually attends it, and not attempt to throw it upon those who understand his writings according to the known and settled acceptation and construction of words. He has plainly expressed an opinion, which he does not *believe*, or does not care to *own*: the *publick*, not excepting some of his particular admirers, *did*, and do *still* understand him in the same sense, which I apprehended to be his meaning, after the most careful and impartial perusal of his book: the notions contained in it appeared to me to be of a very destructive tendency: I have seriously examined, and I hope fully confuted them: if after all, the publick has mistaken his meaning, I can only say, either *he* could not express himself intelligibly, or *they* want common apprehension.

But if these writers do *really* mean no more, than that *all involuntary* Errors are *unblamable*, that a man cannot be *punished* for what he cannot *help*, any more than a *stone* is accountable for not having a power of *self-motion*, is there any discovery in *all This*? Is it for *This only* that they are celebrated, extolled, rewarded? that their performances

performances are so industriously recommended and circulated by the *party*? Is it for the denial of any thing *like This* that they are so angry with those, who are called the *Orthodox Clergy*, that is, the *Body* of the Clergy of the *Church of England*? In our turns we have a right to call upon them to name the Authors of any credit and reputation among us, who have asserted, that *Hereticks* or *Schismaticks*, tho' they have used *all possible* means of information, may justly be *punished*. In respect to their *future* condition, we only say, they have not a *right* to *That particular degree* of happiness which is promised in the *Gospel*, because they do not perform the *conditions* upon which it is promised, and because they can claim a Title to it *only* from an *express promise*. Not to confer a *favour*, does not come under the proper notion of *punishment*, unless there be a claim of *right* to that favour, and then it ceases to be a *favour*. If, for reasons of wisdom and government, God thinks it fit to inflict any *Evil* upon his Creatures, which he had a *right* to inflict; or, if he deprives them of any *Good*, or with-holds it from them, when they could not claim any *right* to it, he does not *punish* them, but only refuses to *grant* them certain benefits, which are acts of *Bounty*. So likewise, with regard to the *laws* of the *land*, they are not *punished* for disbelieving any of the *established* doctrines, or for *separating* themselves from the *established* worship, but only excluded from certain *privileges*, which the *Civil Magistrate*

Magistrate has the *discretionary* disposal of: for we apprehend, the *Legislature* does no *injury* to any *Subjects* by depriving them of privileges, which it has a right to give, or to with-hold, according to discretion; and which it is in duty obliged to give, or with-hold, according as the ends of Government shall seem to require.

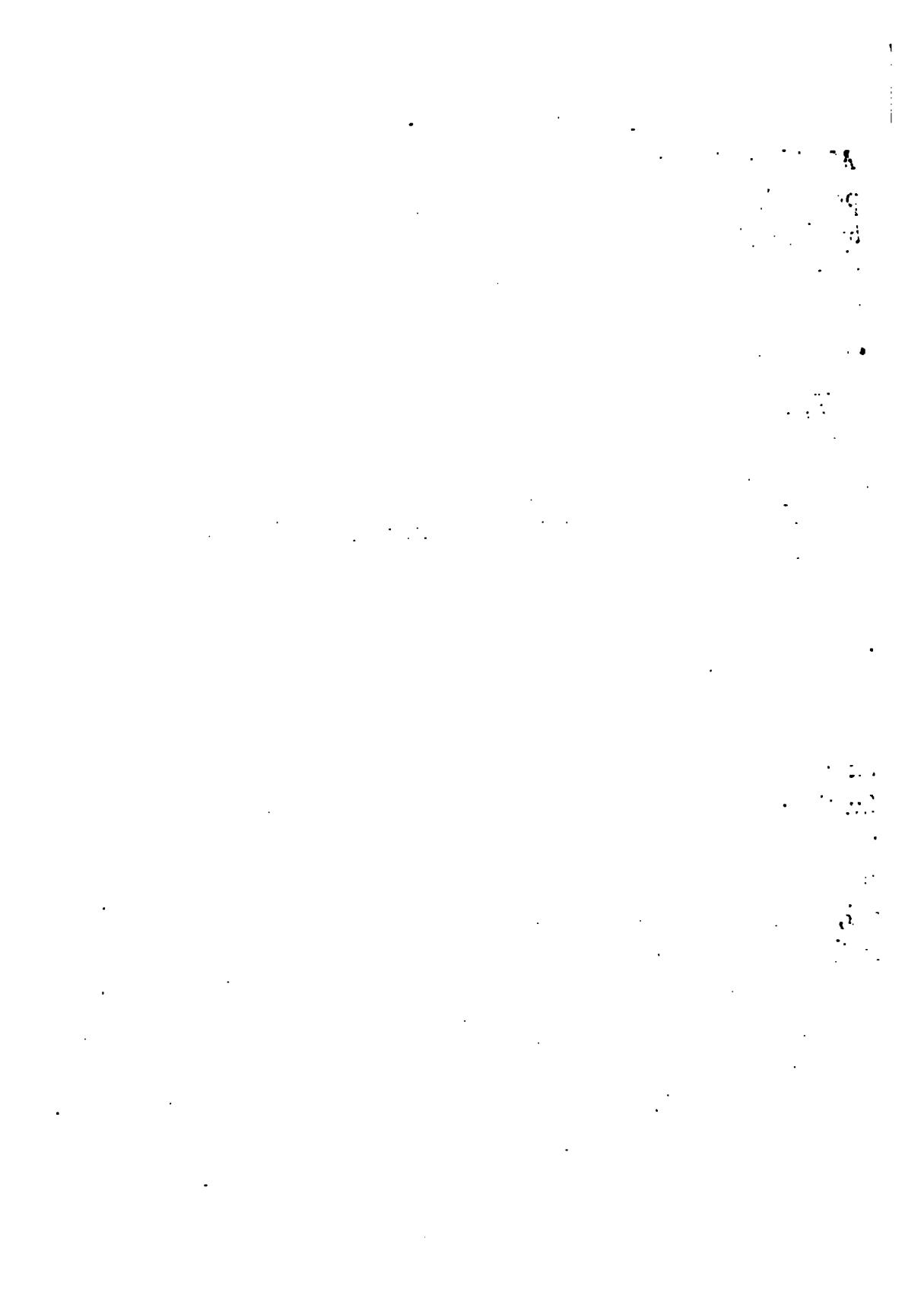
That I may not be misunderstood, in any thing of moment I would explain a passage in the 40th p. of this discourse. The words are these:

“ Yet such duties (positive duties) may, notwithstanding, be said to be less excellent than the *moral* duties, which are grounded upon a certain *order*, or *Relation* of things fixed *originally* at the *Creation* of the world, never to be altered till the end of it.” I do not mean to assert, that the *eternal Reasons* of things, and the *obligations* arising from them, depend upon the *arbitrary* will of God, who determined them at the *Creation*: my meaning is only This, that the *subject matter* of them then commenced. As for instance; *Temperance* and *Chastity* are duties, on account of a certain *Fitness*, arising from the *natural* and *necessary tendency* of those actions, yet the *nature* of *man*, upon which their *Fitness* is grounded, commenced at his *Creation*, and must cease at the *end* of the world, when our nature shall be changed.

Temple-Bar, April, 5th.

1728.

WM. WEBSTER





THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM.

BOOK I.



HE Church was enjoying the fruits of that glorious peace, which Constantine, both by his conversion, and the victories which he had lately gained over the tyrants her persecutors, had procured for her, when she found herself more fiercely attacked than ever by the revolt of one of her Sons, who raised a civil war against her, much more terrible than the foreign war from which she had been lately delivered.

(a) The unhappy author of it was one Arius, who was an African, of the part of Lybia bordering upon Egypt; which may well be said to be more fruitful of monsters than all the rest of Africa besides,

(a) Epiph. hær. 69. Dr. Cave, from Photius (Epist. ad Mich. Bulg. p. 4.) says, *he was an Alexandrian, the son of Ammonius, Vol. II. p. 40.* But Tillem. says, *Je ne l'ay pu trouver.* Hist. Eccl. Tem. VI. P. II. §. 1.

B

having

A. D.
306.

having already produced the heretick (b) Sabellius. Arius was a man of wit and learning, with a great stock of pride and ambition, which not being able to satisfy in his own province, he quitted it for Alexandria, looking upon that as a place where he should have an opportunity to make known his merit, and raise himself at length to the greatest dignities in the Church.

At that time (c) Peter, who soon after, in the persecution of Maximin, received the crown of martyrdom, governed the (d) Patriarchal church of that great city, which began then to be disturbed by the schism of (e) Melitius Bishop of Sycopolis, in the country of Thebais; (f) who, having been convicted of several crimes, particularly of denying the Faith, and sacrificing to Idols, was deposed by a council assembled for that purpose by the Patriarch. But very far from repenting of his faults, and submitting to that sentence, (g) he caused a schism in Egypt, and endeavoured to get himself acknowledged for their lawful Pastor, by boldly disposing of the offices and dignities of the Church, and by exercising those functions which belonged only to the Patriarch, there being many that became his followers, because they had much greater hopes from him than their good Bishop, who minded nothing so much as the service of God. Arius thought this a very good opportunity of advancing himself presently, by going over to him who was in want of followers to strengthen his new formed party. But whether it was that Melitius would not then trust to one so newly come over to him, and with whom he was not sufficiently acquainted, or that the great number of his old friends, whom he was obliged to reward, would not allow him to have regard to a stranger,

(b) This heretick, who lived about the middle of the third century, followed Praxas, and Noëtus of Smyrna, whose disciple he was supposed to have been. They asserted the Trinity to be only three names, or nominal distinctions of one and the same hypostasis, and that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the same person in different respects; but Arius supposed them to be of three different natures. There was about fifty years space between Sabellius and Arius. Tillemont, (ibid.) (c) Euseb. Hist. lib. 8. c. 15. l. 5. c. 9.

(d) The term Patriarch, and several others, did not obtain till long after the time of which my author now writes; but being generally used by him and our own writers, I have retained them, except the word Pope, which I have all along purposely omitted for several reasons, and instead thereof substituted the ancient term Bishop.

(e) Maimbourg writes the second syllable of this word with an E; but Dupin, and others with an I, from the greek word Μελίτις, which I have therefore followed. For an Account of him, see Tillemont, S. Pierre d'Alex. Tom. V. p. 2. §. 8. (f) Athanas. Apol. 2. Sect. 1. 1. c. 3. Soz. 1. 1. c. 14. (g) This happened about restoring those who had lapsed, which Melitius opposed, tho' he himself afterwards fell from the Faith. Cave, Vol. II. p. 40.

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who but just then appeared amongst them ; however, it is very certain, that Arius not being looked upon as he expected, quitted the schismaticks, and came and threw himself into the hands of the good Patriarch, who received him very kindly, and some time after ordained him Deacon, to give him an opportunity of employing the excellent talents and capacity of which he perceived him to be master.

He continued not long in that state ; for finding the party of the rebels to grow daily stronger, and that Melitius, who was very glad to regain one who might be so useful to him, gave demonstrations of the esteem which he had for him, his fickle and ambitious disposition plunged him again into the schism deeper than ever. The Patriarch, enraged at this action, which occasioned much scandal, excommunicated him after a publick manner, as one that had fallen again into his errors, and would never receive the hypocrite again into the Church, notwithstanding all the entreaties that were made in his behalf, and though he pretended to repent a few days after. For the great good man, having an extraordinary insight into things, soon discovered the villany of that wicked wretch, who, in concert with Melitius, desired to be admitted again to communion with the Patriarch, in order to betray him. It is also said, that there happened a circumstance, which we should not give credit to, had it not been reported from the mouth of a man of so great holiness, and as he was just going to be (b) martyred. Achilles and Alexander, two famous Priests of Alexandria, intreating him earnestly in behalf of Arius, whom they thought sincerely to have returned to them, the good man with a great sigh replied : “ Think not, my brethren, that the steadiness that you observe in me, is the effect of a rigour that is deaf to that compassion which we ought to have for penitent sinners : I, who am sensible of my own infirmities, and am a sinner like others, have need of pity myself ; but being instructed by him who knoweth the hearts of men, I can never consent to pardon a traitor, who only comes to us now to deceive us with his hypocrisy, that he may the better destroy us hereafter by his impiety, which is openly declared against *CHRIST JESUS*. Yes, it is *CHRIST JESUS* himself, (added

(b) *Act. Martyr. S. Petri Alexandr. A.D. 310. But Dupin and Cave place it in the Year 311, and the former says, that the acts from which this story is quoted, do not agree with the Ecclesiastical History of that time, and therefore ought not to be much credited, Vol. II. p. 25. And Tillemont who agrees with them, absolutely denies their Authority, Tom. V. P.III. §. 1.*

“ he, who shewing me this night by the spirit his vesture rent from
 “ the top to the bottom, told me that it was Arius that had done it,
 “ warning me to be very careful of yielding to the entreaties that
 “ would be made to me the next day in behalf of his enemy; telling
 “ me withall, that I was about to receive the crown of martyrdom; that
 “ you should both succeed me in the care of this Church one after
 “ the other; and that I should charge you from him, as I now do, by
 “ the authority which he has given me, never to receive into the Church
 “ that traitor whom I have excluded, and who only desires to be ad-
 “ mitted into it again to destroy it. These were the last commands
 “ of the holy Patriarch, who the day following sealed them with a
 “ glorious (i), martyrdom.

I know very well, that we are not always obliged to believe such extraordinary things of this nature which we usually call visions, particularly when they are not attested by some noted author, whose name is sufficient to make them pass for authentick. But at the same time, I am not ignorant, that an Historian, leaving people the liberty to believe what they will, cannot, without too much niceness, and even some sort of malice, suppress those things that have been received for so many ages, by such as we cannot accuse of weakness, without hazarding our own reputation. But whether or no the holy Bishop left these commands when he was going to be martyred, as (k) probably he did; it is certain they were very ill observed, and that the consequence proved them to be but too true, to the great detriment of the Church: For they found by woful experience, that there is nothing that she ought to be more apprehensive of, than an enemy seemingly reconciled, and hid in her bosom, under the false appearance of friendship.

Tho’ the choice of Achillas verified one part of the holy Martyr’s prediction; yet this new Patriarch had little regard to the other, which was of much more importance for the publick welfare. Whether it was, that he was won himself by the flatteries and feigned protestations of Arius, who was very skilful in those particulars, or that he hoped to win him over by mildness and kindness, or that he thought to vex the followers of Melitius, by taking so ingenious a man from amongst them; or, in short, that he affected to proceed after another method than his predecessor had done, (which is an usual weakness in those that succeed to great offices) to shew that he had a different insight into affairs,

(i) See Cave Vol. II p. 47.

(k) See notes above, &c.

and a better notion of them : Whatever was the motive, he admitted Arius to communion with him, and without giving himself time to make trial of his constancy, who had already deserted his party twice; (l) he raised him to the highest dignity in the Church, next to that of a Bishop ; not only (m) ordaining him Priest, but committing to his care one of the principal churches of Alexandria, being one of those called (n) Laurus, which even at that time was what our parish-churches are now : Besides, being a man of learning, of a graceful appearance, and eloquent, he made him (o) professor of Divinity in his cathedral church.

Arius soon gained abundance of reputation in the exercise of his ministerial function, and put himself in a fair way of being elected Patriarch in the room of Achillas, who held the patriarchal chair but a very little while. He aspired with great eagerness to this high dignity, which alone was sufficient to satisfy his ambition, and he was not without hopes of succeeding, by means of the interest and friends which he had gained. But he was deceived in his expectation ; for the capacity, merit, great service, long experience, and holy life of Alexander, easily prevailed over his artifices and intrigues. Thus the prediction of the good Patriarch Peter was accomplished in this particular, and (p) Alexander was placed in the patriarchal chair ; upon which Arius conceived a furious enmity against him : (q) But the new Patriarch endeavoured to overcome it by favours and preferments, giving him all imaginable demonstrations of his esteem and friendship, and raising him so high, that he, without dispute, (r) held the first place in Alexandria next to his Bishop.

But the envy that proceeds from ambition, is a wild beast, which benefits can never tame ; they being so many marks of that greatness, which is already insupportable in him that bestows them, only add to the uneasiness of that furious passion ; and at the same time afford it more power to spread its venom, and to do mischief. Thus Arius, now become greater and more considerable by the honours he daily

(l) Sozom. l. 1. c. 14.

(m) But Tillemont, *Tom. VI. P. II. §. 2. says, that he only received him to the Diaconate, and that it was Alexander that ordained him Priest.*

(n) Epiph. *hær. 69.* Tillemont and Cave call it *Baucalis.* (o) Theodor. l. 1. c. 2. *The French is Professeur de saintes lettres, ou Theologal.* Tillemont (*ibid.*) and Cave (p. 41.) says, he had the Catechetick School ; but this latter supposes him to be placed there by Achillas.

(p) Theodor. *ibid.* According to Jerom, A. D. 321. others say 315. Dupin Vol. II. p. 27. But Tillemont says, very likely A. D. 311. *Tom. VI. and P. 3.*

Note 1. sur les Ariens. (q) Sozom. l. 1. c. 15.

(r) Gelas. *Cizic. l. 2. c. 1.*

received from the Patriarch, resolved to make use of them to his destruction; but perceiving him to be out of the reach of calumny, because of the integrity of his life, he determined to attack him in his doctrine, and to ruin his reputation by bringing him under the suspicion of heresy. To accomplish this, he imagined he should find no great difficulty; because with a great stock of (i) Platonick philosophy, which he was master of, and which was at that time much in request, he was admirably well skilled in the (s) subtilties of Aristotle, and the art of confounding people by disputations and logical turns, which the primitive Christians were very little acquainted with. For putting this his design in execution, an occasion offered in the following manner: (a)

An universal peace being established in the Church, the Patriarch Alexander took great care to instruct his Clergy himself, which during the persecution could not be assembled with so much freedom: To this purpose he held many publick conferences, in which he explained to them with abundance of skill and perspicuity the chief articles of the doctrine of the Church. (w) One day having assembled together all the Priests of Alexandria, he began to discourse in a very sublime manner upon one of the most considerable mysteries of the Christian religion, (x) shewing that the *Unity* of the *Godhead* subsisted indivisibly in a *Trinity* of persons, very distinct from one another, tho' they had but one and the same *Essence*. Arius thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity of attacking his bishop with advantage; because every one abhorred the heresy of (y) Sabellius, who about (z) sixty years before had the confidence to assert, that there was but one *Person* in *GOD* under different *Names*, according to their different operations; and therefore he immediately rose up before the whole assembly, and declared, that what was then advanced, was the opinion of (w) Sabellius, disguised under other words; and that a *Unity of Essence* could not be maintained without confounding the *Persons*

(i) The Platonists at this time (as is said) governed the schools of Alexandria, in which Arius was brought up. They asserted three divine hypostases, the $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\kappa\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, or god being; the $\nu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma$, or word or reason, and the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$, or spirit, that animates and influences the whole system of the universe, called in Latin *Anima Mundi*, which had all the common Duty, or $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, and were, as they pretended, eternal and necessary existents. See Cave's Hist. II. p. 42. and Tetterman, Sermon. II. p. 85. (c) See Zonaras, lib. I. c. 14.

(w) Tillamont thinks this to have happened about the year 319, or 320 at the latest, and that the dispute began upon his asking the assembly's opinion upon a passage of scripture relating to the Word. Tom. VI. P. II. §. 1. and Note 1. sur les Ariens. (x) Theodoret. Lib. I. c. 2. (y) See Note (b). (z) Til-

lamont says so. (ibid.) (a) See note (i).

together : That the *Son* having been begotten of the *Father*, as Alexander himself said, he must needs also have had his beginning from him ; whence, by philosophical arguments, he concluded, that he must then necessarily have depended on that from which he had his beginning, and that it was before him ; and so consequently that the *Son* had not an *Unity* of substance with the *Father*. So bold an action as this startled the assembly at first, and soon after put them into confusion ; for Arius being esteemed a man of learning, and of great knowledge in the Scripture, and seeming only to be desirous of opposing the error of Sabellius, and reasoning with a great deal of subtilty upon so nice a point, which the rest (of the assembly) were not prepared to dispute upon, a great many took his part ; but a much greater number were for the Patriarch, and defended his doctrine very warmly, as the most essential point of the Christian religion.

(b) Alexander, who observed them to be in a heat, thought it the best way to reclaim Arius and his followers rather by fair means, and by convincing them in a regular dispute, than to exasperate them by arrogant proceedings, and compelling them to submit to his authority immediately. Accordingly he chose out some of the Priests of each party to propose and defend the arguments on both sides ; and he himself, with the chief of the Clergy, presided as judges to decide the controversy, at length, by a solemn determination. Nay, to shew how fairly he acted, the Patriarch, without taking any side, seemed as if he was undetermined between the two opinions, by sometimes commending one, and sometimes the other, according as the dispute turned amongst the disputants, who, as it usually happens, looked upon it as a point of honour, never to yield ; no, not to truth itself, tho' never so apparent.

But the Patriarch soon found that condescension, in cases where Religion is concerned, not only weakens the party that has truth on its side, but also adds strength and confidence to those which are in an error. For Arius was so transported with the desire of victory, and continued so to run on in the mazes which the dispute had engaged him to proceed, or rather wander in, as the consequence of his first blasphemy, which he endeavoured to defend ; that he came at length to such odd extremities, and advanced such scandalous and detestable propositions, that he could no longer be heard by any one without their partaking of his blasphemies. To maintain that the *Son* of

Alexander being very much surprized at the mischievous consequences of this dispute, which he did not foresee, put an end to it, by pronouncing sentence in favour of those who maintain'd the *Divinity* and *Eternity* of the SON of GOD, and forbad Arius to teach, or even hold so wicked an opinion, which destroyed the very foundation of the Christian religion. Arius perceiving that by gaining a little time, he might bring over such a considerable number to his party, as might make him not easily to be resisted by the Patriarch, thought it the best way to dissemble, that he might have an opportunity of playing his engines with the greater advantage, as accordingly he did. He began with those who declared themselves for him in the conference, whom he easily secured to his party, by telling them that they were obliged to it in honour. He also gained two of the three most considerable Priests, that had the government of the parishes of Alexandria, who themselves began to preach other errors, namely, Carpones and Sarmates, who, finding that they had not interest or followers enough to set themselves up for heads of a party, chose rather to acknowledge Arius as such. (f) As for the third of these, Colluthus, he was for forming an heresy himself; but not having wit or cunning enough for such a purpose, it was soon extinguished.

Arius still going on with his enterprize, soon found himself strengthened by near twenty of the Clergy, from amongst those who valued themselves most for their wit and learning; together with two famous Bishops, (g) Secundus of Ptolemais in the country of Pantapolis, and Theonas of Marmorica in Lybia. Upon this he thought he might act a little more openly, and make use of all the advantages he was master of, by art and nature to gain the people; for it is certain he had a great many talents, which rendered him capable of nicely insinuating himself into their good opinion and affections. (h) He was a man tall of stature, and of a very becoming make, grave and serious in his carriage, with a certain air of severity in his looks, which made him pass for a man of great virtue and austerity of life. Yet this severity did not discourage those that accosted him, because it was softened by an extraordinary delicacy in his features, that gave a lustre to his whole person, and had

(f) Epiph. hær. 69.
Ann. VI. P. II. l. 1.

(g) Socr. l. 1. c. 3.

(h) Epiph. *ibid.* See Tillmont

something in it so sweet and engaging, as was not easily to be resisted. His garb was very modest, but withall very neat, and such as was usually worn by those who were men of quality as well as learning. His manner of receiving people was very courteous and very obliging, by his agreeable way of entertaining those who came to him upon any occasion: In short, notwithstanding his mighty seriousness, and the severity and strictness of his mien, he perfectly well understood how to sooth and flatter, with all imaginable wit and address, those whom he had a mind to bring over to his opinion, and engage in his party. Arius being such a one as I have been describing, and thinking himself sufficiently strengthened to act more openly, (i) he began to preach his doctrine in the church to which he belonged, where it was immediately received as from an oracle by those that heard him. He held private conferences about it, and spread it in company, very artfully contriving to bring it into discourse, and going from house to house to gain over the chief of the city, especially such women as pretended to piety, over whom he obtain'd an extraordinary power, by means of his devout and insinuating appearance: At length, he made such a progress by his intrigues, that he seduced, amongst the rest, seven hundred (k) virgins, young women that professed virginity, and had dedicated themselves to religion in Alexandria, who put themselves under his directions, and embraced his errors with so much obstinacy, that they could never be brought back, notwithstanding all the authority and threatenings that were made use of to reclaim them.

All this could not happen without a great deal of noise, by which the Patriarch was awakened out of the deep sleep he had suffered himself to be thrown into, by an excess of his own natural goodness, and by the cunning and pretended submission of Arius, who only endeavoured to deceive him. He therefore sent for him; and after having charitably shewn him his fault, and mildly charged him with his disobedience, and the scandal which he brought upon the Church, by his unheard-of blasphemies against the Person of JESUS CHRIST, which ought to be had in reverence, (l) he commanded

(i) Theodoret. lib. 1. c. 2: (k) Epiph. *ibid.* But this seems improbable, for the *Stoudes* complains of his being followed by many young women, yet he speaks of them only as a small number, as appears from the word *ἐλπίς*. Tillem. *ibid.* §. 4. (l) Epiph. *ibid.* Theod. *ibid.*

him to retract his opinions: But Arius being lifted up by his late Victories, and looking upon himself as strong enough, not only to make a defence, but even to attack his adversaries, he boldly answered the Patriarch, that what he had taught, was the Truth, entirely pure and orthodox; and that it was he who ought to recant, and abjure the heresy of Sabellius, with which he had corrupted his people. Upon this, Alexander perceiving that mild remedies served only to increase so great an evil; and that he must have recourse to stronger medicines, (m) assembled a Council in Alexandria of an hundred Bishops, of the provinces of Egypt and Lybia; in which, after a very exact examination of the matter, the impious doctrine of Arius was condemned, and he himself, all along obstinately refusing to retract his errors, solemnly deposed from the Priesthood, excommunicated and driven out of the church and city, with all those that were of his party. (n)

This, to say the truth, was a thunder-clap which startled him, but did not cast him down. (o) For Alexandria being at that time one of the greatest and most populous cities of the East, he found no great difficulty to enrol himself there, and both by himself and his followers to form cabals, which were so much the more dangerous, because not being publicly known and discovered, they were the less capable of being opposed: (p) So that by this means, he, in a very little time, gained over more profelytes, than he had done by his open conferences and sermons: (q) some presuming upon their being able to determine of the merits of this cause, by their own judgment, alledged, that he was in the right; others joined themselves to him out of mere love of novelty, which seems so charming to the generality of mankind. There were even some, who being vexed that his doctrine was condemned by the Patriarch, followed him out of a perverse inclination of having what is forbidden: In

(m) Tillemont says this was in the year 319, or at least 320: But that he first excommunicated him in an assembly of his Clergy, *Tom. VI. P. II. §. 3. and Note 1. for les Ariens. Socr. lib. 1. Epiph. lib. 1.* (n) The beginning of Arianism may be dated from hence, viz. A. D. 319, according to Tillemont, whom the *Savians* may farther consult about this matter, *Tom. VI. Note 1. for les Ariens.* But *Gave* places it about the year 315. (o) It was probably in this council, that Arius being asked whether the word of God could apostatize as the Devil had done? He boldly answered, that he could, because he was of a mutable nature, *Socr. lib. 1. cap. 6. Tillemont, Tom. VI. P. II. §. 3.* (p) *Epiph. lib. 1.* (q) *Socr. lib. 1.* (2) *Socr. lib. 1. c. 14.*

short, the greatest part became of his party, moved, as it often happens, by a false compassion, which they are wont to have for men of so much learning, and for ecclesiastical persons of such extraordinary merit, which (they pretend) are unjustly persecuted, because their adversaries are displeased at their being more knowing and ingenious than themselves. It also happened, that though St. Melitius and his disciples followed not Arius's doctrine: yet out of hatred to Alexander, and to strengthen themselves against him, they were prevailed upon nevertheless to favour Arius, and declare themselves for him: so that he found himself master of such considerable forces, that he hoped both to get the better of, and destroy his rival.

But that did not satisfy him: for he was very sensible, that to become formidable, and make himself capable of prosecuting his intentions, it was requisite to engage some Bishops in his defence, and to gain the protection of some of those who had interest at court, and were able to oppose the Patriarch. For this purpose he sent some of the most ingenious of his party to the neighbouring Bishops; to whom he wrote very artful and submissive letters, giving them a general account of his doctrine, which he said was the truth, in opposition to the opinion of Sabellius: adding, that if they found it to be sound and orthodox, he humbly intreated them to protect him against the violence of Alexander: and, that if they found any thing in it that was necessary to be retracted, he was very ready to learn from them, whatever they thought proper to teach him, concerning a mystery of such importance. (1) By this he immediately gained the favour of a great many Bishops, who discerned not the poison that lay concealed under the shining protection of a celebrated man in distress, who had thrown himself upon them for their aid: But after all, it must be acknowledged that he was very wise in the choice that he made of a powerful protector, who, in truth, next to himself, was the cause of all the mischief that happened afterwards.

(2) This man was Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who had already discovered some sentiments not very favourable to the Divinity of our Saviour: but he kept them to himself, for fear of their being an hindrance to his ambition, that aspired to every thing, and to

(1) See *ibid.* c. 3. See Tillamont, *Tom. VI.* S. Pierre d'Alexandre, *and Note* (2) p. 1. (3) *Epist. ad Const. Rom.* c. 10. (4) *Sciron. ibid.* (5) *Alexand. in Epist. ad Const. Rom.* c. 3. See Tillamont, *Tom. VI.* P. II. §. 6.

which he made impiety and religion indifferently subservient, according as they seemed most useful to his purpose, and most likely to produce the end proposed. He had found means to gain the good opinion of Constantia, sister to Constantine the great, and wife to Licinius; and this Princess, won by his ingenuity and agreeable behaviour, had taken care of his fortune, and introduced him at Court, which was what he very passionately wished for; and there soon offered a very favourable opportunity for one who, when his interest was concerned, had no regard to conscience. Constantia then usually resided at Nicomedia, a very pleasant city of Bithynia, (x) where Dioclesian had built a very magnificent palace, and which Licinius, who, at that time, possessed the Empire of the East, had chosen for the place of his residence. Eustolius, Bishop of this city, dying whilst the Court was there, Eusebius luckily happened to be then attending upon Constantia, who would always have him near her person; and he easily prevailed with her to use her interest and power to procure him to be elected, in the room of the deceased; for he thought nothing could be more advantageous to his fortune, than that dignity, which afforded him an opportunity of being admitted into a greater intimacy with the Emperor. Constantia seized with joy so favourable an opportunity of advancing her favourite; she laboured for him very earnestly, and found it not very difficult to succeed; for nobody could then refuse her any thing, who was sister to one of the masters of the world, and wife to the other. Eusebius was at that time Bishop of Berytus, a small town of Phœnicia, by no means convenient for the great designs his ambition made him propose to himself. The Canons allow not of such sort of translations from one Bishoprick to another, without the authority of the Church, by the approbation and common consent of a number of Bishops. But Eusebius, without stopping at such troublesome scruples as might have hindered the success of his affairs, made no difficulty of leaving his first church, and insolently taking possession, by his own private authority, of that of Nicomedia, by virtue of an election not authorized by lawful powers. (y) Nay, he did much more; for in order to secure his fortune, he made no scruple of sacrificing his honour and conscience to satisfy his ambition, by (z) favouring secretly the party

A. D.
318.

(x) Socr. lib. 1. c. 3. (y) Synod. Alexand. apud Athanas. Apol. 2. (z) Epist. Const. Nicom. apud Theodor. l. 1. c. 20.

of Licinius against the Christians themselves, whom that tyrant persecuted, and against Constantine too, with whom Licinius, some time after, having made war, therein lost both the Empire and his life. And as a crime that is attended with success and impunity, often acquires strength and boldness to proceed farther, upon account of its imaginary good fortune, Eusebius finding that the favour of his protectress removed all obstacles to his usurpation, and prevented the punishment that was due to it, thought (as Alexander reproaches him in his circular letter) that he might dispose of every thing at his pleasure, without being opposed by any one: In fine, by his own cunning, and the favour of Constantia, he became so considerable at Court, (a) and even with Constantine after the defeat of Licinius, that there was hardly any thing he could undertake, which he might not hope to succeed in.

It being thus with Eusebius at Court, Arius, either perceiving him to entertain already some sentiments agreeable to his own, or hoping easily to prevail with him to receive his notions, in opposition to the Patriarch, for whom, it was well known, he had no affection, because he could not bear a superior, or that Eusebius having secretly given him notice to address himself to him. Whatever (I say) were the Motives, he wrote to him, earnestly begging his protection against the persecution that was raised against him, because he defended the perfect Unity of God, whose substance was indivisible, and a Trinity of persons, which, he said, some were for confounding in the same essence. Eusebius having so proper an occasion of publishing his sentiments, and of putting himself at the head of a powerful party, which would blindly pursue his interest, willingly undertook to protect Arius. He sent him word to continue resolute in his defence of the truth, telling him that he would find those who would support him in so just an undertaking; and that he would write his favour to the Bishops of Palestine, where he had abundance of acquaintance; especially with Eusebius of Caesarea, who had already begun a very particular friendship with him.

In the mean time, Alexander having been informed of all the disorders which Arius occasioned by his cabals, in Alexandria, in Egypt, in Thebes, and Lybia; he made such diligent search for him every where, that he was at last obliged to fly and make his escape into Pal-

(a) Socra. *lib.*

Asia, amongst the chief of his disciples, whom he had appointed to meet there. (b) He was no sooner arrived, than by himself and his friends, who were sent all about, he implored the protection of the Bishops, those especially whom Eusebius of Nicomedia had already disposed to receive him; and so great was his success, that in a little time he gained over to his interest (c) Eusebius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Sythopolis, Paulinus of Tyre, and a great many others, whom the favour of Eusebius of Nicomedia had no less influenced, than the artifice and flattery of Arius himself, who at length presented them a petition for leave to hold assemblies, and there publicly to teach his doctrine. (d) They being in the secret with him, having assembled together all the Bishops that they could, granted him (in a sort of Synod) communion with them, and the leave which he desired, ordering him nevertheless (as they had cunningly concerted it with him) to do his utmost to reconcile himself to his Bishop, that he might be received again into his favour, and restored to his church. Upon this, he wrote to his protector Eusebius, with a great deal of insolence, (giving him an account of his negotiation) that all the Eastern Bishops held the same doctrine that he taught, (e) and that for that reason Alexander had excommunicated them equally with him.

Nay, this was not all; for having settled his party in Palestine, where they openly preached his opinions, he went himself to court, where Eusebius was already grown very considerable, in order to concert measures with him, that they might proceed jointly together, after so favourable a beginning. Eusebius immediately introduced him to the Empress Constantia, who was sister to Constantine, and wife to Licinius, as a very extraordinary man; and he by his hypocrisy and flattery knew so well how to gain that Princess, who was already disposed by Eusebius to receive his poisonous tenets; that she undertook his defence, looking upon it as that of Truth itself unjustly persecuted: So that as the Serpent, in order to beguile Adam, first seduced Eve; this arch-heretick, who (as S. Epiphanius says) had the subtilty of a serpent, in order to impose upon the world with the greater ease, began after the same manner with corrupting the faith of the sister of his Prince and master. And certainly, as it is an established order in Nature, that things are pre-

(b) Sozom. l. i. c. 14. Theodor. l. i. c. 5. (c) Soz. l. i. c. 3. See Cave, Vol. II.

(d) Sozom. *ibid.* (e) Epiph. *Her.* 69.

served only by the same principles from which they had their being; so has it always been seen, (by a disorder unfortunately regular in evil) that the first falshood being brought into the world by a woman, it is seldom supported in heresies, which are the consequences of it, but by the assistance of some of that sex, and even of Princesses themselves, who not having sufficient understanding or capacity for the discovering of error, yet have nevertheless obstinacy and presumption more than sufficient to support it.

After so successful a beginning, Arius and Eusebius concluded, that they ought to oblige the Bishops of their party to declare for them as soon as possible; however, still keeping such measures as might cause the appearance of right to be on their side, and serve to justify their conduct to Constantia. For this purpose, they thought it proper for all the Bishops to write in a respectful manner to the Patriarch Alexander, in behalf of Arius, that he would restore him, because they judged his doctrine to be very sound and orthodox. They also thought it proper for Arius and his disciples to write to the Patriarch at the same time, humbly to beg that favour of him; as they accordingly did, declaring to him their confession of Faith, in which they acknowledged three substances in the *Trinity*; that the Father was before the Son; and that he had created him before the beginning of ages, but after a different manner from the rest of *created Beings*, (f) whom he infinitely surpassed, yet without having communicated to him his own proper essence. After this, they boldly told the Patriarch, but in respectful terms, that that was the Faith which they received from their ancestors and from him himself, and which they had heard him preach publicly, before he was engaged in maintaining another doctrine in opposition to them. This stratagem they thought very proper to perplex Alexander, and put him to a nonplus; for if he granted what they demanded, they would then gain the victory, and triumph almost without having fought; if he refused it, besides a great number of Bishops whom he would have to deal with, they could easily ruin him in the Emperor's opinion, to whom they could represent him as an obstinate person, and one who raised disorders in the state, and schisms in the church. Matters being thus resolved upon, Eusebius

(f) Epist. Arii apud Epiph: *Her.* 69.

easily put them in execution, by means of his interest at Court, and the cunning and industry of his trusty friend of Cæsarea.

This Eusebius of Cæsarea, (since we ought to do merit justice, where-ever it is found) who was surnamed Pamphilius, upon account of the strict friendship that was between him and the holy Martyr of that name, was one of the most famous men of his time, for his great and excellent qualifications. He had as much wit as any one could have, and a genius not only lively and penetrating, but also very extensive, and capable of all sorts of sciences: Besides, he was well bred, agreeable, given to flattery, eloquent and judicious, and of a very easy and free temper; and, what very ill agrees with it, of unwearied diligence, and laborious beyond what can be imagined, as appears by the incredible number of excellent Works that he hath left us, of which part only remain, though the greatest ornament of our libraries. But it must be confess'd, that with this strength of genius, he had a great deal of weakness of mind, and that especially which is usual with men of note, who have too great a regard to interest, and too little to religion. For in the first place, being taken in the time of the persecution, he suffered himself to be deprived of the crown of martyrdom, by (b) denying JESUS CHRIST, for fear of losing his life, which he seem'd only to have preserv'd to employ it afterwards in the service of those Christians who deny'd his Divinity. Nevertheless, he so dexterously cover'd the shame of his apostacy by a very regular course of life, and so well improv'd, by his friends, the reputation that he had acquired of being a man of parts, that he found means to get himself elected Bishop of Cæsarea, the Metropolitan See of Palestine. Afterwards perceiving that his friend Eusebius of Nicomedia was become powerful at Court, by the favour of the Empress Constantia, he devoted himself entirely to him, that he might partake of his good fortune. And he made no scruple of still sacrificing his honour and conscience to other Idols, namely, his own ambition, and his friends humour, (c) by embracing upon his recommendation the party of

(b) Cave, (Vol. II. p. 29.) undertakes to vindicate Eusebius of Cæsarea, from what is thus laid to his charge by St. Jerom and others: And also Du Pin. (Tom. II. p. 1.) On the contrary, others allow him to be in a union with Theodotus, Paulinus, and Arius, against our Saviour's Divinity. (Tillem. Tom. VII. P. II. §. 5. & Note 2. sur les Ariens. Montfaucon, in vit. Athanasii. pag. V. VI. and VII. (c) Cave *ibid.*

Arius, which he afterwards found to have abandoned, and soon openly returned to again, according as the difference of times and occasions required, for the sake of his income, and for keeping himself in the favour of his Prince, whom he flattered like a courtier, or rather adored even to idolatry.

Eusebius of Caesarea being then entirely devoted to the other of Nicomedia, and acting blindly according to the instructions which he received from him, failed not, with the rest of his colleagues, whom he had won over, to write to the Patriarch of Alexandria in favour of Arius and his doctrine, which they openly defended. They even endeavoured to prove it by false subtleties, and some passages of Scripture, the sense of which they had corrupted. We have still some fragments of Eusebius's letter amongst the (A) records of the second Council of Nice: And (B) S. Athanasius mentions some of those which the rest of the party wrote agreeable to this. (C) Even those who did not think fit to declare themselves, though they were for Arius, as Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, were at length compelled by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who upbraided them with their silence, and encouraged them by the example of the Bishop of Caesarea, their Metropolitan, who, he told them, had generously declared himself in defence of the truth.

The Patriarch having received these letters, and being informed that many copies of them were dispersed about, soon discovered the artifices of the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and that the Bishop of Nicomedia was, in reality, at the head of this dangerous faction. Wherefore, arming himself with a holy and true Christian fortitude, even beyond what was common to that of his age, which now advanced towards decrepitude, (D) he resolved openly to oppose this secret enemy, without being afraid either of his favour at court, his power, or even his malice, which was much more to be apprehended than either of them. (E) To this purpose he wrote immediately to Sylvester Bishop of Rome, an account of what he had done in the matter of Arius; as also to other Bishops, not only of his own Patriarchate, but to those of Palestine, Phoenicia and Asia, where his rebellious son had been so sick to

(A) A.C. 4.
apud Thend. l. 1. c. 5.
s. 9 lib. 33. p.

(B) Lib. de Syn. Arian.

(C) Athan. Or. 1. cont. Arian.

(D) Epist. Euseb. ad Paul.

(E) Ep. 14.

BOOK I. *The History of Arianism.*

protectors: And (p) S. Epiphanius assures us, that in his time, there were found to the number of seventy of these letters amongst the collections of the curious.

Besides, to make the greater noise in the world, and prescribe a publick antidote against a poyson, which was so carefully spread every where; he published a circular letter to all Bishops in general, of which there is a copy preserved in the (q) history of Socrates. In this letter, without using any reserve with so potent an adversary as the Bishop of the Imperial city, he gave all the world to understand, "That Eusebius, after having, contrary to the Canons, left his first Church to satisfy his ambition, took occasion also to gratify the desire which he had of troubling the Church, and of spreading abroad the poyson of a detestable heresy, which he had kept concealed a long time: That in taking upon him, with so much warmth, to protect such of the Clergy as had rebelled against their Bishop, and openly attacked the Divinity of the Son of God; he acted indeed for himself, he being in effect the first author of that cursed blasphemy, which he endeavoured to publish, or rather renew, by those unhappy instruments of his wickedness." Afterwards, when he had given an account of the errors that were maintained by Arius and his followers in Alexandria, and of the anathema solemnly pronounced against them in an assembly of an hundred Bishops, he confutes all the blasphemies of that heresy by strong arguments, and by very clear and convincing passages of Scripture. "How (said he) could our Saviour Christ be a Creature, because it is written, (r) that *all things were made by him*? Could he be created out of nothing, since the Father says, that he begat him of his bosom? If he is the word and the wisdom of his Father, as the Scripture very plainly saith, could his Father ever have existed without him, because it is impossible that the Father could ever have been without his word and his wisdom? And can he be imagined not to be of the same substance with him, since he saith, (s) that he is in the Father, and the Father in him; and that he that hath seen him, hath seen the Father?" After this, the Patriarch earnestly intreats the Bishops, to whom he writes, not to receive any of those impious wretches, whom all true Christians ought to have

(p) *Her.* 69.

(q) *Lit.* 1. c. 3.

(r) John i. Heb. xiii.

(s) John xiv.

in abhorrence, as the declared enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and not to have any regard to Eusebius, if he continued to solicit them in their behalf.

These letters being sent about, produced different effects, according to the different dispositions of those that received them. Those of Eusebius's party answered them agreeably to their first project, (t) by desiring Alexander to receive those of the Clergy that were disciples of Arius to communion with him, and not to trouble himself about a person who might be as well let alone. (u) Some wrote to him in general and ambiguous terms, that they might always have it in their power to declare themselves, as occasion served, for that party which would be most for their advantage. Some, without determining any thing concerning Arius, only said, that they had neither received nor rejected him. Others excused themselves for having admitted him to communion with them, under pretence of their being unacquainted with what had been done in relation to him. There were even some, who making use of an excuse sufficiently bad, resolved to own that they had received Arius, but that it was only to render their endeavours to reclaim him more successful. But there was a much (x) greater number than all these who answered Alexander to his satisfaction. For a great many Bishops of all the Provinces of Asia and Africa, not only forbore receiving Arius to communion with them, but rejected him as an heretic that had been excommunicated; and at the same time that they answered the Patriarch's letter, they sent him their confession of Faith, agreeable to his own, and signed with their own hands.

In the mean time, Eusebius, extremely exasperated at the manner of his being used in Alexander's letters, (y) though, out of feigned modesty, he did not give way to his passion in the answers that he sent, yet he failed not secretly to encourage and stir up all that were of his party against him, and he obliged them openly to oppose him as a corrupter of sound doctrine, and a (z) persecutor of those who desired to preserve it in the Church. This began to make a great deal of noise throughout the East; but the good Bishop, very far from being surprized at it, proceeded still farther in a second letter, which he sent into all the provinces, with the sub-

(t) Socrat.
(u) Theodor. J. L. c. 8.

(x) Epiph.

(z) Socrat.

(y) Socrat. lib.

scriptions of all the orthodox Bishops that had joined themselves to him. In this letter, besides the true confession of Faith, and convincing proofs of the (a) Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, together with a confutation of the blasphemies of Arius, which were expressed more at length, and with greater force than in the first letter; he sets forth more particularly the horrid crimes of that wicked wretch and his followers; and complains, in very moving terms, of those who, to the shame and scandal of the Church, had restored and protected a man, who had revolted from God and his Patriarch, notwithstanding that the Apostolical (b) Canons prohibit Bishops from receiving to communion with them any ecclesiastical person that is excommunicated by another Bishop. Upon this, Eusebius, who found himself so sensibly attacked, throwing off the mask, and losing all patience, (c) assembled several Bishops in Bithynia that had thrown themselves blindly into his party; and in this assembly, which was held contrary to all manner of form, and the laws of the Church, he caused it to be decreed as in a lawful council, that the doctrine of Arius should be generally received as orthodox, and that Alexander should be obliged to embrace it, under penalty of being condemned for an heretick:

(d) This was as it were the breaking out and declaration of the war, and the signal of the general sedition, which arose in all the provinces and cities, and even in all the towns of the East. (e) There never was known a greater disorder, nor a more terrible and universal confusion than this. The Church was now attacked by strangers and infidels, but by the chief of the Church itself, and by her own children, who rent her bowels, by reviling one another in their discourses, and by the shameful effects of that anger and hatred that was bred amongst them. The Bishops of the two different parties excommunicated and abused each other, after a most outrageous manner. The people every where in the cities and villages ranged themselves into parties, which both sides defended with so much heat, that they frequently came to blows, and from fighting with their tongues, to make use of other weapons. (f) The disorder spread itself into families, by the divisions which arose upon

(a) Epist. Alexand. *ibid.*

(b) Can. 33.

(c) Sozom. lib. 2. c. 14.

(d) Euseb. vii. Const. lib. 2. c. 60. Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 6. cap. 3.

(e) Euseb. vii. Const. lib. 3. cap. 4.

(f) Socrat. lib. 1.

these different points of Religion. Every one took upon himself to judge of these differences, especially in Alexandria, where the liberty of speaking and acting with insolence was always very great, and where Arius had now returned to put himself at the head of his followers. There were a sort of battles fought in particular houses, in publick places, and private companies, to determine concerning the mysteries of our Religion, without any regard to lawful authority, which was no longer attended to in this dreadful torrent of disputes and sedition; in the heat of which, not even the statues of the Emperor himself were spared: In short, the disorder arose to such an height, that the Pagans, who began to have some respect to a Religion which they saw was in vogue, soon resumed the liberty of despising it as before, insomuch as to make it the subject of their plays, and impudently to represent our sacred Mysteries upon the publick theatre.

In the mean time, Constantine having made himself sole master of the Empire, after many victories which he obtained by the assistance of Heaven, under the banner of the Cross, used his utmost endeavours at Nicomedia to make the Christian Religion flourish, by the edicts and laws which he published in favour of it. And (g) he was even going personally to visit the cities of the East, and repair in person the disorders which were occasioned by the tyrants in their last persecution of the worship of the true God, when he heard, with concern, the sad news of the disorders which hindered his designs, and prevented the Infidels, who were scandalized at the civil war that was amongst the Christians, from embracing their Faith. (h) Eusebius, who was so much concerned in this matter, and who had a great share in the Emperor's esteem, thought it best to be before hand with the Patriarch, and throw all the blame of these great disorders upon him. To this purpose, he with a great deal of cunning insinuated to him, " That Arius was, indeed, to blame for
 " having, with so much noise, maintained his opinion, which he
 " might better have kept to himself, without engaging so many con-
 " siderable men in his defence; but that Alexander was at the same
 " time infinitely more blame-worthy, because he was the first oc-
 " casion of that great confusion, by having first proposed to his
 " Clergy certain questions, which served rather to employ the

(g) Epist. Const. *ibid.*

(h) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 15.

“ wits of Philosophers, than to instruct Christians ; and that it was
 “ better to pass them by with humility, than presumptuously to
 “ endeavour to explain them, at the hazard of our peace, and
 “ even of our holy Religion itself: That what had been debated
 “ between Arius and the Patriarch, was nothing but vain subtelties,
 “ which no ways concerned any essential point of the Christian Re-
 “ ligion ; that they agreed in the main ; and that these sort of dis-
 “ putes, which went beyond what was necessary, only caused con-
 “ fusion, and raised scruples in people’s minds, who were not al-
 “ ways capable of making such difficult and confused enquiries. That
 “ therefore, the best expedient was to enjoin both parties to silence,
 “ and oblige them to become friends, and say no more for the
 “ future upon the subject of that dangerous and unnecessary dis-
 “ pute.”

(i) Constantine, who had a great value for Eusebius, and who be-
 sides was very glad to hear from him that the question in this dispute
 did not concern the Faith, without difficulty became of the same
 opinion too, because we easily believe what we desire ; and therefore
 he wrote a letter agreeable to the wrong information which he had
 received : This letter was addressed alike to both parties, and blamed
 both the one and the other, but the Patriarch much more than
 Arius, ordering them to be reconciled, without contending any
 farther upon this point, which had caused so much confusion in
 the Church. To give this letter the greater force, the Emperor
 thought fit to commit it to the hands of a man of extraordinary
 merit, (k) one who, by his ingenuity, and the great authority which
 he had acquired, by his virtue and knowledge, might help to
 put these orders in execution, and reduce all things to a state of
 tranquillity. Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, was the person made
 choice of for this purpose, being one of the most famous men of
 his time, of very great ability, and remarkable for his virtue, which
 appeared during the persecution of Dioclesian, by his glorious con-
 fession of JESUS CHRIST in the midst of torments, and du-
 ring all the hardships of a long imprisonment. (l) He was at that
 time at the Emperor’s court, being either sent for by that prince,
 who loved him extremely, and had a particular veneration for him,

(i) Euseb. vit. Const. lib. 2 cap. 63.
 A. I. c. 6. Sozom. lib. 1. c. 15.

(k) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 4. Theodor.
 (l) Socrat. ibid.

in order to make use of his advice in the designs he was about, for the service of Religion; or having by Silvester, Bishop of Rome, (*m*) whose Deputy, it is certain, he was at the council of Nice, been already sent into the East, upon account of the disorders of Arius, of which the Patriarch Alexander had given him information.

The Emperor therefore having about him so great a man, and one who was capable of managing such sort of affairs, sent him into Egypt with letters to appease the disorders there, and deferred going into the East himself, till he knew what would be the success of Hosius's journey. (*n*) But he was soon undeceived as to what Eusebius had insinuated; in the first place, by the Patriarch's letters, who shewed him that he was imposed upon; and that in the matter of Arius, the most essential point of Christianity was concerned; a point which distinguished the Christians from the Jews, namely, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, from whom the Emperor had received so many victories and advantages: In the next place, by Hosius, who found people so incensed, and so firmly resolved to stick to their opinions, in an article which he presently perceived to be the most essential of Christianity, that he despaired of ever being able of himself to determine a matter of such importance. For which reason, after having, without difficulty, appeased some lesser disorders, which some of the followers of Sabellius and (*o*) Colluthus still occasioned in Egypt, he returned to Constantine, and gave him to understand, that so great a disease required a stronger medicine; and that a more powerful authority was necessary to put an end to such great differences, about an article of that importance: Besides, the Christians of the East still disagreeing amongst themselves about the celebration of (*p*) Easter, which caused very great divisions amongst them, it was proper to settle at once, by the same means, both

(*m*) Tillemont, Du Pin, &c. contradict this; particularly the former says that Gelasius of Cyzicus was the first that ever asserted it, who for that purpose inserted it in the Text of Eusebius; tho' neither that Eusebian, Socrates, Sozomen, or Theodoret, have really said any thing like it; and therefore it is not probable that he was sent by Silvester. Tillem. Tom. V. P. III. §. 2. & Nic. 4. sur Conc. de Nice. (*n*) Epiph. hær. 69. (*o*) Colluthus was a provincial Priest of Alexandria, who about the time that Arius preached his opinions, endeavoured to make him all the more of a party, who took their name from him: His heresy consisted chiefly in thinking that God did not cause any Evil, and therefore was not the author of the troubles and afflictions of this life. See farther, Tillem. I. VL. 2. L. §. 4. & 13. (*p*) Some celebrated this Festival according to the custom of the

these questions in debate, which were the two principal causes of those fatal Controversies, that disturbed the peace of the Church.

(q) Upon which, after having examined the matter, and taken advice of the Prelates and other most considerable men that were about him; the Emperor resolved, at length, to call a general Council of Bishops, representing the whole Church, to whose authority both parties should be obliged to submit. (r) And this was done in concert with S. Sylvester Bishop of Rome, who appointed Hosius, together with Vitus and Vincentius, two Priests of his Church, his deputy, to represent him in the Council.

This matter of so great Importance being resolved upon, Constantine, for holding this famous assembly, made choice of (s) Nice, a pleasant city, and very conveniently situated, in the heart of Bithynia, upon the middle of a very fruitful and pleasant plain, by the side of a great lake, near Nicomedia, where that Prince kept his court; for he did not build Constantinople till two years after. He wrote very respectful letters to the Bishops all about, to oblige them to come to Nice as soon as possible. (t) He gave orders to all his Lieutenants in the Provinces to furnish them and all their attendance with horses, carriages and mules, at his expence; and to defray their charges, and supply them plentifully with every thing, not only upon the road, but also all the time that they continued at the Council; which was an extraordinary mark of that Prince's magnificence; for besides (u) three hundred and eighteen Bishops, of which that assembly consisted, a great many of whom came from the farthest parts of the Empire; (x) they all brought along with them the most able men of their Clergy, to assist in the enquiries that were necessary to be made; besides others that attended them out of duty or respect; insomuch that their (y) multitude was in a manner innumerable.

But what made this assembly yet more august and venerable than all that have been ever seen in succeeding ages, was the pre-

of the Latin Church, (which is now followed) and others according to the time observed by the Jews for their Passover. See farther Prideaux's Connexion, Ed. 8. p. 234, &c.

Socrat. lib. 1. c. 5. (q) Ruf. lib. 1. cap. 1. (r) There is not the least foundation for this from the ancient Historians; and for a confutation of it, see Notes (h) and (t) and Dupin, Tom. II. p. 599. (s) Strab. lib. 12. (t) Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 6. & sequ. Theodor. lib. 1. c. 7. (u) Authors differ about the exact

number of the Bishops; but it is generally allowed to be near what is here related. See farther, Tillem. T. VI. Note 2. sur le Conc. de Nic. (x) Sozom. lib. 1. c. 16.

(y) Euseb. ibid.

sence of the greatest men of the world, and the most famous Bishops of the Church, either for their extraordinary knowledge, their remarkable holiness, the many miracles which they still wrought, or for the glorious combats which they had been engaged in against the several tyrants during the persecutions, the honourable marks of which they still carried about them. The great Hosius, (so famous for the commendations of S. Athanasius, whose learning and virtue before his much to be lamented fall from the faith, was the wonder of the age he lived in) appeared there at the head of the rest, as (2) representing the head of the Church. Three famous Patriarchs, were there also, viz. Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Macarius of Jerusalem, who, besides the glory which they had acquired by their great parts, and extraordinary knowledge in the holy Scripture, had also that honour which the Church ascribes to the Saints in her (a) Martyrologies. Thither came also to represent the Church of Africa the famous Cecilian, primate of that country, who had lately triumphed over all the persecutions of the (b) Donatists. And amongst the rest, there were those great defenders of the Faith, Hypatius of Gangra, (†) who soon after received the crown of martyrdom; Euphychius of Tyanæ, Longinus of Neocæsarea, Protogenes of Sardica, Eutychius of Amasea, whom the illustrious Martyr Basileus caused to be chosen in his stead; Alexander of Byzantium, Arestanes of the greater Armenia, the famous Leon-tius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and the celebrated Nicolas de Myra, whose many miracles have always made him respected in the world.

But nothing made a finer appearance than those glorious Confessors, who were maimed and disfigured by the horrible torments which they had undergone in defence of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. They came to defend that again in the Council, which they had already so bravely and gloriously confessed by their sufferings, than which nothing could be more eloquent. There was that venerable man

(2) See Note (h.) Moreover, Tillemont speaking of the rank of the Bishops according to their dignity, says, he took place merely according to his merit. [Olius par le seul merite de sa personne.] Tom. VI. Part III. §. 2. And, he tells us, that he subscribed first without any mark of legation; whereas Vitus and Vincentius subscribed in the name of Sylvester their Bishop. Not. 4. sur le Conc. de Nic. (a) Martyr.

Rom. 26. Feb. 16. Jul. 10. Mar. (b) These were so called from Donatus of Case Nigra, who about the year 306 founded a Schism against Mensurinus Bishop of Carthage, which was afterwards carried on with greater violence against his successor Cecilian. Tillemont, T. VI. p. 1. les Donatistes. (†) Athan. or. 1. cont. Ari.

Potamo

Potamo of Heraclea in Egypt; one of whose eyes had been plucked out in the persecution of Maximin. Paphnutius, one of the (c) first disciples of S. Anthony, afterwards Bishop of the Higher Thebais, who during the fury of that persecution had been as it were buried alive in the mines, after having his right eye put out, and his left arm cut off. (d) This holy man wrought almost as many miracles as the Apostles themselves; and Constantine had so religious a regard for him, that he obliged him to live in his palace, and used, with great devotion, to kiss the place from whence his eye had been pulled out, for the sake of the faith. (e) There was moreover Paul of Neocæsarea upon the Euphrates, who, in the time of Licinius, had both his hands burned with hot irons; and that admirable man James of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, (f) who wrought abundance of miracles, even to raising of the dead, yet was not more remarkable for any, than (g) that invincible resolution which he shewed in undergoing the cruel torments which he suffered under Maximin, for the honour of CHRIST JESUS: There was also the wonderful Spiridion of Tremitunta in Cyprus, (h) who raised his daughter from the dead, to discover the place where she had hid some treasure, and who by the fury of the same tyrant had been condemned to the mines, after having lost one eye and one leg: And, in short, besides these, many others, whose wounds were the glorious marks of their victories, appeared in that assembly as so many Martyrs come down from Heaven, in order to testify once more the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and fight for their master, who was more dangerously assaulted by hereticks, than he had been before by the tyrants themselves.

On the other side, Eusebius of Nicomedia came also with those of his party: But besides its seeming very inconsiderable, in comparison of so many orthodox Bishops who came from all parts of the world; many of them, (i) who before the assembling of the Council joined themselves to him, being afraid to accompany him in so holy an assembly, therefore kept off till another opportunity; so that not above twenty declared for him; and the three principal of these, who were (k) Euse-

(c) Soc. l. 1. c. 5. (d) Ruff. lib. 1. cap. 4. *vid.* Socrat. lib. cap. 11. (e) Theodor. l. 1. c. 7. (f) *ibid.* (g) Martyr. Roman. 15. Jul. (h) Ruff. lib. 1. cap. 5. *This is also reported by Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 12.* (i) Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 7. (k) *It is reported by several persons of note and learning, that our learned Church Historian, who takes so much pains to vindicate this Bishop, altered his opinion*

sebius of Cæsarea, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nice, (1) had, as well as himself, deny'd JESUS CHRIST during the persecution. Thus the chief of the Arian faction having been before wretched apostates, did no more by embracing that heresy, than repeat after a different manner the crime which they had formerly committed, in denying JESUS CHRIST.

But there was another thing that conduced very much to the honour of this assembly, by the very means made use of to disgrace it. For the Pagans, who thought the Christian Religion already much shaken, resolved to make use of this opportunity to ruin it with Constantine, in hopes to bring him back to the worship of Idols. For this purpose, the most able amongst their philosophers came to Nice, to dispute publicly about Religion, against those whom they despised, and looked upon as incapable of resisting them. There (2) were several who, before the opening of the Council, gave challenges which were accepted; for there being amongst those who came along with the Bishops a great many learned Ecclesiasticks, who were not only well instructed in the mysteries of our Religion, but also very well skilled in all human Sciences, it was thought proper for them to prepare themselves against the fiercest assaults, that they might publicly put a stop to the vanity and confidence of those sophisters. In one of these disputes, where the Bishops often assisted, either to animate their own party that were engaged, or to engage themselves with those fierce and presumptuous adversaries, it is said that there happened one extraordinary thing, which was as it were a presage of the ruin of the Arians, and the victory of the Orthodox. (3) One of those philosophers, (which I have mentioned) adding impudence to his false reasoning, insolently arrogated to himself the victory, and scoffed at their simplicity, of whom he pretended to have got the better. The good Bishop Spiridion, who was present at the dispute, not being able to bear his presumption any longer, besought the other Bishops that he might take him in hand himself, in order to bring him to reason. But they knowing the good man was not much used to philosophical disputes, and understood none of their subtleties, this

of him before he died. And Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 5. mentions him among the favourers of Arius: But as to his denying our Saviour, it is (I suppose) inferred from his not having suffered with Potamo and the rest of his Brethren, in the Persecution of Maximin. (1) Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 31. Theognisus see Diognis.

Montf. vit. Athan. p. VIII.

(2) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(3) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 17.

proposi

proposal surprized every body. It rais'd laughter in some, and concern in others, who were afraid lest the goodness of their cause should be injured, and the insufficiency of the good old man become the sport of the arrogant philosophers: Yet that glorious confessor of CHRIST JESUS was had so much in veneration, that they could not refuse him. That wonderful man therefore rising and addressing himself to the philosopher, "Attend, (says he) I will shew
 "you that there is but one God, who hath made Heaven, and all
 "things therein, by the word of his power; and that this word is
 "his Son, who being God, was made man, born of a Virgin, and suffered death upon the Cross to redeem mankind, and deliver them
 "from their sins; and that it is he that shall come to judge the world,
 "and render unto every man according to his works. Beware of being so presumptuous as to examine, out of a vain and foolish curiosity, those wonders which we know only by faith. Answer
 "then, and tell me, whether you do not also believe them? (o) Yes,
 "I do believe them," reply'd the philosopher, immediately, without hesitating. Afterwards, turning himself towards his disciples, and the other philosophers that accompanied him; "Do not wonder
 "(says he) at so surprizing an answer, and so unexpected a change:
 "For whilst I was attacked by force of reasoning and artful turns of
 "discourse, I made use of my own art and reason to repel that
 "which was urged in opposition to me; but now that I am assaulted
 "by the supernatural force of the divine vertue, which speaks by
 "the mouth of this good man, my arguments can no longer bear up
 "against such heavenly power, nor can I any longer resist God. I
 "declare to you that I am a Christian, and I conjure you also to follow my example. I glory in being thus overcome, and it is to
 "my defeat that I owe my salvation." This thunder-clap from Heaven, which abated the pride of these philosophers, might well let the Arians see, at the same time, what they might expect from the same spirit, which, doubtless, would have a greater influence in a general Council, than it had in a single person: (p) For a Bishop, who was a learned man, and a great philosopher, but withal inclined to Arius, was so surprized, and at the same time convinced by this extraordinary accident, that he quitted the party of Eusebius, and came over to Spiridion's, which he looked upon as that of God himself.

(o) Ruff. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(p) Greg. Presb. de Pat. Nic.

In the mean time, the Emperor was come from Nicomedia to Nice, to honour the Council with his presence, and to give necessary orders himself for the assembling of it. He entertained the Bishops with all possible civility, and made them the more respected by all his court, by the extraordinary respect which he shewed them; taking care to (q) provide them lodging and provisions, and ordering them to be supplied plentifully with every thing, that they might be able to proceed, not only with order, but magnificence; (r) and to give the greater weight to the Council by the extraordinary preparations for it, he had the assemblies held in his royal palace, which he caused to be sumptuously furnished for that purpose, that he might have the glory and satisfaction upon this occasion to consecrate, and give up as it were the glory of his Empire to JESUS CHRIST.

But there fell out an accident at the same time, which admirably well discovered the greatness of his mind, and the strength of his understanding, as well as his zeal for Religion. (s) There were certain Bishops who took their opportunity to present him with memorials, full of complaints and grievous accusations against some of their brethren. Historians do not tell us particularly who these accusers were; but if we may judge from very reasonable conjectures, it is probable that these accusations were made by the Arians, through the artifice of Eusebius of Nicomedia, in order to ruin the chief of the orthodox in the opinion of Constantine, and thus to strengthen their own, by weakening the other party; for it has always been the custom of hereticks to accuse catholick Bishops before (t) secular Judges. (u) The Donatists did the like formerly against Cecilian, who was present at this Council; and they themselves did it again afterwards at a more favourable juncture against the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. All catholick Bishops have ever had this in abhorrence, looking upon it as an incroachment upon the Rights of JESUS CHRIST and his Church. How durst they themselves then commit it in those primitive times, when ecclesiastical discipline was in full force; they especially, whose vertues of all kinds were so remarkable? Besides that we are informed that such sort of petitions were daily represented to the (*) Emperor; which shews that it was a matter

(q) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 5. (r) Euseb. lib. 3. Theod. l. 1. c. 7. Sozom. l. 1.
 (s) Sozom. *ibid.* cap. 16. Ruff. l. 1. cap. 2. Theodor. l. 1. c. 11. (t) *The*
French is Tribuneaux des Princes. (u) See above Note (b). (*) Sozom. *ibid.*

concerted amongst several of them, in order to make the stronger impression upon that Prince's mind. However, they did not succeed as they expected; for the Emperor, who had already resolved with himself what to do, commanded those Bishops who thus accused the rest to come together on a day appointed, as it were, in order to do them justice. They accordingly presented themselves before Constantine, who holding their libels in his hand, spoke to them thus in a solemn manner: "You shall have a time set, and a judge assigned you for the determining of your differences. The day shall be that of judgment of all men, and your Judge JESUS CHRIST. For my part, (x) I, who am but a man, know that it does not belong to me to determine their causes (y) who are set in his place, like Gods, to judge even us in matters of the greatest importance, namely, those of Religion. (z) I know that it is your duty, by an unblamable life, such as is suitable to your station, to take care that there be no occasion for judging you; but at the same time I am not ignorant, that I ought to have so much regard to the sacredness of your character, (a) that if I saw any of you with my own eyes committing an ill action, I ought to conceal it, even by covering it with my royal robe, to prevent its being exposed to the insults of those by whom it might otherwise be discovered. (b) Imitate the example of God, who pardons us our offences, and having but one heart and one mind, unite yourselves together in both by a perfect reconciliation, in order to consider more seriously the great business of our Faith, for which you are here assembled together." (c) Thereupon, protesting by the living God that he had read nothing of what was written in those libels, (*) he ordered them to be burnt in their presence, and desired them to assemble on the day appointed for the opening of the Council.

There was no resisting a discourse that was so powerful, and so becoming the majesty of him that spoke it. The order was received without any dispute, as if it had been that of God himself; and those who had made these complaints, perceiving that to continue them would not only be useless, but dangerous, they joined with the rest in beginning the Council on the day appointed, which was the

(x) Sozom.

(y) Ruff. lib. 1. c. 2.

(z) Sozom.

(a) Theodor.

lib. 1. cap. 11.

(b) Sozom. *ib.*

(c) Theodor.

(*) Sozom.

A. D.

325.

19th (d) of June, in the year 325. For this purpose, there was placed seat on each side the great hall, which was in the midst of the palace, both on the right and left, for the three hundred and eighteen Bishops, and for the other Divines who should be called thither to propose their arguments on both sides. Every one took his place there according to his rank, and the privileges of the Church to which he belonged. (e) The deputies of Sylvester Bishop of Rome, who were the first that subscribed their names at the Council, took also the first place there, with the patriarch of Alexandria on the left hand, which in sacred and ecclesiastical (f) ceremonies was the most honourable place; as appears from many examples in ancient times, and particularly by the sittings (g) of the Council of Chalcedon, which doubtless followed the example of the three former, and in which the deputies of S. Leo, who presided at it, were placed first on the left hand with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and on the right those of Alexandria and Jerusalem. Thus the deputies of Sylvester and the Patriarch of Alexandria, who at that time was the first in rank of the Eastern Church, took the first places on the left, and the (h) Patriarch of Antioch placed himself at the head of the second rank on the right hand; after him the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and then the rest placed themselves one after another on each side, according to their order. There was set up in the midst of the hall a magnificent throne, upon which the holy Gospel was laid, (i) as appears by the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, which were held after the model of the first, and that appeared there as it were in the place of JESUS CHRIST himself, who, according to St. Cyril, seemed to say to them by his Gospel, *Judge righteous judgment*. As for what followed, Constantine desired them to examine freely and exactly

(d) This is mentioned as the first day of the council, either because it was not opened till then, or that Constantine did not appear before, tho' the 14th had been appointed for its meeting. Tillem. Hist. Eccl. Tom. VI. P. III. §. 1.

(e) Petavi de Doct. Temp. l. 11. c. 41. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 10. Theodor. l. 1. c. 7.

(f) It is observable that Maimbourg here quotes no authority for this assertion, and indeed there is none that may be depended upon: For Tillemont (who is one of the own writers) assures us, that there is little to be said as to the rank or order that was observed in the Council; to which he adds, Baronijs en divine ce qu'il luy plaist, sans grand fondement; & Bellarmine en dispose bien d'une autre maniere qui n'est plus assurée. [And from these (I suppose) Mons. Maimbourg has collected what he here and elsewhere frequently asserts in relation to the supremacy, &c.] See Tillemont above cited, & Conc. de Nic. p. 693.

(g) Conc. Chalc. Act. 1.

(h) Mons. B. Histories des Scavans, &c. p. 257. Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 11.

(i) Conc. Chalc. Act. 1.

(i) Cyril.

at as many sittings as they pleased, all the points in debate, to the intent, that when they were ready for a conclusion, he himself might be present at the Council, on the day appointed to decide, by a definitive sentence, the articles which they should have examined.

Matters being thus settled, the Fathers came to the Council, and held (*) their sittings regularly every day, beginning with the examination of the most important point, namely, that of Arius. They began, according to custom, with reading his doctrine, which he had delivered in writing, in the form of a profession of Faith; and when they heard read therein that the Son of God had not always existed; that he was a creature whom God had formed out of nothing, by his will, that by him he might create all others: Then above three hundred of the Bishops, not being able to bear so horrible a blasphemy, and acting as it were by concert, through a sudden and powerful impulse of the Holy Spirit, all stopped their ears at the same time, both that they might not hear that execrable impiety, and might testify their great abhorrence of it. Nevertheless, recovering themselves a little after from this first commotion, which was a mark of their zeal, and which they were not masters of, they judged it requisite, in order to observe due forms, and to proceed with the greater certainty, according to the rules of a (k) legal determination, to hear what Arius had to say thereupon in his own defence, and what was to be said on the other side, to convince him (l) of the wickedness of his doctrine, that sentence might be pronounced, at length, after hearing both parties.

For this purpose he was often heard in the Council, where he had liberty to say whatever he would upon the points which he maintained. On the other side, they heard also what the Orthodox Divines had to alledge against him, especially the great Athanasius, who was then only a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria, and whom the Patriarch had brought to Nice to engage with Arius, (m) as the most learned and ablest of all those whom he himself had instructed in ecclesiastical learning. He acquitted himself of this charge with so much strength of mind, eloquence and learning, that he filled the whole Council with knowledge and admiration, and put the whole Arian party into disorder, who from thence conceived that furious

(*) Ruff. lib. 1. cap. 5. (k) *ibid.* (l) Sozom. l. 1. c. 16. & 18. (m) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 5. Sozom. l. 1. c. 16. Montfaucon, vit. Athanas. &c.

hatred against him, which they continued ever (a) after. When the disputes of the Divines had been heard, the Fathers examined amongst themselves what had been alledged on both sides; and a very exact enquiry was made into all the texts of Scripture that were urged, and all the arguments that were used to discover their true meaning.

The Orthodox, and especially those great Saints, (o) who knew by experience that God reveals to the meek and lowly what he hides from the proud, desired to keep entirely to what had been already received by tradition, without endeavouring to give new turns to the words of Scripture, in order to interpret it in a different manner from that which their forefathers had learned from the Apostles. But the Arians, who could not find in it that which they presumed to maintain, asserted on the contrary, that they ought not to stand to that which had been held by the primitive Christians, because they were not certain of it; and therefore they desired that the truth of their doctrine might be sought from Scripture alone, which they could wrest to their own sense by their false subtleties. Above the rest, Eusebius of Nicomedia made a great noise at first, by his warm and imperious manner of speaking, and seemed rather to command and decide with authority, than to deliver his opinion.

But the rest, thinking it the best way to begin with mildness, desired him, and those of his party, to produce their arguments peaceably, and shew, that according to the essential maxims of the Christian Religion, there was nothing impious in their doctrine. This mild way of proceeding put the Arians entirely to a loss, and spoiled all their measures. For when some of them endeavoured to take advantage of it, and began to declare boldly with Arius, that the Son was but a creature, all the three hundred Fathers, who had at first conceived such an abhorrence of that blasphemy, gave them to understand immediately, with one consent, that they would never suffer it. For which reason, the less forward and more cunning amongst the Arians thought it necessary to have recourse to evasions, and let the matter take another turn, by disguising their opinion under terms that might be less odious; but it not having been concerted amongst them, and those who were engaged resolving to defend what they had said,

(a) Ruff. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 12. Niceph. l. 8. 19.

(o) Sozom. cap. 16.

they (p) began to dispute one with another, and were forced at length to be silent, not being able to agree upon what was to be done for the interest of their party; which discovered the weakness and infamy of their heresy, and made it despicable to the whole assembly. (q) Upon which, notwithstanding the opposition of those of Eusebius's party, the proceedings of the Council of Alexandria against the opinions of Arius were read, and the letters of Eusebius produced, containing the same blasphemies without disguise; against which, some of the most learned of (r) the Fathers spoke with so much zeal and vehemence, that they were publicly torne before the author of them, in a full Council.

An action of such resolution soon gave the Arians to understand, that they could never avoid being condemned, unless they had recourse to some artifice, by pretending, as they did, that they desired peace, and would retract their former opinion. (s) Thereupon, after having taken measures together, and determined what was to be done to preserve their real sentiments, by expressions which might be explained in their favour, and yet be universally received by the Orthodox, they offered to acknowledge under their hand, that the Word was God, and also of God. But because the Fathers perceived that there was an evasion in it, and that they pretended that there was a certain meaning in these words, according to which they might be extended even to Men; (t) they required to have it added, that he was the very power and wisdom, and perfect image of his Father, subsisting in him, and always unalterable in every respect. They agreed to this; but could not help looking upon one another, and signifying, by a smile, that all this might be interpreted in their sense, and might also be understood of Man in some measure, because he is called the image and glory of God. For which reason, finding that there was no sincerity in their words, and that they wrested those of Scripture, the Fathers consulted together to find out a new expression, that was clear and plain, and would not admitt of any equivocation whatsoever, but destroy their heresy without leaving any remedy.

This they found no great difficulty to meet with, because they remembered that in one of the letters of Eusebius of (u) Nicœmedia,

(p) Athanas. *de decret. Syn. contr. Har. Arian.* (q) *Epist. Jul. apud Athan. Apol. 2.*
(r) *Epist. Eust. Antioch. ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 8.* (s) *Athan. Ep. de decret. Syn. cont. Har. Arian.* (t) *Ibid.* (u) *Ambros. de fid. ad Gr. lib. 3. cap. ult.*

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which had been read and torne in the Council, there was these words: *If we say that the Son of God is uncreated, from that itself we confess that he is (x) CONSUBSTANTIAL with his Father.* Then they plainly saw that these hereticks had a very great aversion for this word, which indeed entirely destroyed their errors, by clearly expressing that truth, which is taken from Scripture, that the Son is not only like his Father, but that he is of the same substance with him, and consequently eternal, uncreated, and not made, but begotten; equally wise, good, and powerful with his Father. This is the reason why the Arians were desired to sign the Consubstantiality of the Word, because it obliged them to make use of the expressions of the (y) Catholick belief, and did cut off all the heads of their Hydra at once. But when they saw that they were pressed so closely, and had no room for deceit, they pulled off the mask, and declared they would do nothing. The Catholicks plainly convinced by this of their unfair dealing, resolved on their side never to give up this expression, which was the mark that distinguished the Orthodox from the Arians: So that nothing being done farther in the Council, each party keeping firmly to their resolution, they were obliged to inform Constantine, that there remained nothing but to fix a day for deciding this weighty affair by a solemn determination, at which he intended to assist.

That day being come, all the three hundred and eighteen Bishops came and took their places very early; and though the great throng, that accompanied them upon this occasion, crowded in every where, (z) to behold the finest sight that ever was seen, there was nevertheless a prodigious silence kept in the great hall all the time that they waited for Constantine; so much did the very notion of the presence of that Prince, who was just coming, keep people's minds in suspense, and teach them respect. The first that entred, was one of the Lords of the Court, who going cross the hall, placed himself by the Emperor's chair; soon after came another, who went and stood by him; after a little space, as it were to dispose the whole assembly, by degrees, for the reception of the Prince, a third came and took his place, as the other two had done, on one side of the (†) chair, which was placed at the upper end of the hall, between the ranks of

(x) ὁμοούσιον
ibid. Sozom. cap. 18.

(y) Ambros. *ibid.*

(z) Euseb. *lib. 3. c. 10.*

(†) Euseb.

the Bishops that were on each side; so that those who were on the left, when they came in, as the (a) deputies of Sylvester Bishop of Rome, and the Patriarch of Alexandria, sat exactly on the right hand of Constantine. Some time after appeared a select number of those who were honoured with the greatest share of the Emperor's friendship, and had all embraced the faith of Jesus Christ; and at the same time the trumpets sounded to give notice that the Prince was coming. Then all the Bishops arose with that respect which was due to the Master of the world, and which they signified by a sort of religious veneration, when they saw him appear with such glorious majesty, as dazzled the eyes of the whole assembly, and resembled more perfectly than ever that of God himself.

That Prince was extraordinary well made, and of a very tall stature, surpassing the ordinary height of men; but so well proportioned, that it gave such a majestick air to his person, as shewed, at first sight, that he commanded the rest of mankind. (b) His face was agreeable, though he was already past fifty; he enjoyed an excellent constitution, was of a sanguine complexion, and had fair hair, with a ruddy countenance; he naturally inclined to be fat, had an uncommon sweetness and delicacy in his features; (c) but, above all, his eyes were extremely lively, and shone like a gentle and piercing fire, by which means he still retained a (d) youthfull air, and a sort of manly beauty: All these advantages, joined with a noble and heroick mien, drew the admiration and adoration almost of all (e) the world. He was dressed in purple, after the Roman manner, with an Imperial mantle, and a sash of silk raised with gold, and sparkling with diamonds, which he usually wore, tied to his hair with two ribbons, instead of a laurel, which he had left off ever since he became a Christian, that he might not wear any thing that had the least appearance of superstition, and to shew that it was not to Apollo, as a certain heathen orator had told him, but to Jesus Christ alone, that he owed his victories.

Having passed through his apartments in this manner, as soon as he came to that where the Council was held, he ordered his guards to retire, and entered only with the officers of his household that attended him, who were all Christians. Then it was that he seemed to the whole (f) Council like an Angel come from Heaven; so remark-

(a) See *Notes above* p. 32. (b) Niceph. l. 8. cap. 16 & 55. (c) Niceph. *ibid.*
(d) Euseb. l. 3. c. 10. Theod. (e) *Vit. in Const.* (f) Euseb. *ibid.*
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able was he for his modesty, goodness, sweetness, and (g) agreeable bashfulness, as well as that august majesty, which never left him. In truth, worldly greatness and Christian humility were never seen so well united as in the person of this great Prince upon this occasion. He came through the middle of the hall with a slow pace, his eyes towards the ground, between the Bishops that were on each side, who saluted him very respectfully, and went and stood by his seat; from whence he saluted the Fathers with a civility that charmed them. He ordered his chair to be somewhat lower than the rest, as an instance of the honour that he paid to the whole Church, represented by so holy an assembly; but at the same time he ordered it to be of gold, (h) and set by itself on the upper end of the hall, to shew what was due to his dignity. He would not sit down till the Bishops had desired him, by the respectful signs that were made use of for that purpose; which shewed the deference he had to Ecclesiastical authority. But to signify withal that he was their master, he sat down first; which the (i) Bishops did not till he had commanded them.

(k) As soon as they were seated, Eustathius Patriarch of Antioch, who sat first on the right side, on the left hand of the Emperor, began the ceremony with a short and elaborate discourse upon the occasion of that august Assembly's being called. "He returned thanks to God for giving them a Prince to whom he had given the Empire of the world, in order to establish the true Religion in it, and that he might support it by his arms, his laws, and his example. He said, that by extirpating the tyrants, a much more horrid tyranny was destroyed, namely, that of the Devils; that their temples were destroyed, their altars thrown down, and their sacrifices abolished; that light had succeeded to darkness, truth to falsehood, and the worship of the true God to that impiety which had reigned for so many ages: In short, that instead of divine honours being paid to Creatures and Devils, none was adored throughout the world, but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. That, in truth, that was the greatest act of his power and goodness, which God was pleased happily to accomplish by his means; but that nevertheless, that great Worker expected him to prevent,

(g) Theodor. *ibid.* (h) Euseb. (i) Sozom. l. 1. c. 18. (k) Theodor. J. 1. c. 7. Gregor. Presbyt. de Patr. Nicæn. See Tillem. Not. VI. sur Conc. de Nic.
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by his authority, so precious a work from being destroyed by heresy. That to attack the great mystery of the Trinity, and endeavour to rob JESUS CHRIST of his Divinity, was to overturn the very foundations of Christianity. That the Devil, who was the author of Idolatry, seeing it ruined by the arms and virtue of Constantine, endeavoured to establish it again after another manner, by the malice, and errors of Arius. (l) For as he had before induced Idolaters to worship creatures as God, so now he endeavoured to prevail with Christians to place the God which they adore upon the level with creatures. That therefore both the glory and the piety of Constantine were concerned to preserve the work of God; by destroying that of the Devil, and to deliver the Church from an enemy, who made a more dangerous war against her, than ever the Tyrants had done in the height of their most cruel persecutions.

(m) The Patriarch having finished his discourse, the whole assembly immediately cast their eyes, with an incredible earnestness, upon Constantine; and by a profound silence expressed their desire and expectation to hear what he would say to them. Upon which that (n) Prince, who was naturally eloquent, and had besides improved himself by study, modestly lifting up his eyes, looked round upon that great company with an agreeable smile and sweetness altogether charming; (a) then having recollected himself a little, and still sitting in a majestic posture; he, with a very grave and moderate tone, spoke almost these words, which we received from one that heard him. (p) "As I am more obliged than any man to return thanks to the great God of heaven and earth for the many benefits which he has showered down upon me; I own that it is more particularly upon this occasion that I ought to renew my endeavours for the discharge of this duty, because by seeing you thus assembled in this sacred Council, I receive the greatest of blessings, which I have so much desired, in order to deliver us from the greatest of evils. We have overcome the tyrants who had declared war against the true Religion, and continued it after so bloody a manner, by spilling the blood of so many Martyrs; we

(l) Athanas. Or. 4. cont. Ari. Theod. l. c. 2.

(m) Euseb.

(n) Victor.

in Co II.

(a) Secr. c. 5.

(p) Euseb. ex eo, doxom. Theodor. l. i. c. 7.

Niceph. l. 8. c. 16.

" have caused it to triumph over its merciless enemies, by the all-
 " powerful arm of the Saviour of the world, who gave us victory,
 " fighting under (q) his banner. I thought nothing remained after
 " this triumph, but to enjoy with you an entire tranquillity, as the
 " fruit of such happy success, by causing the worship of the true
 " God, the author of all this happiness, to flourish throughout this
 " Empire. This was what I was expecting, when, to my great grief,
 " I was informed, that we had an enemy more dangerous than all the
 " tyrants still to encounter ; I mean, that unhappy division upon
 " the most important points of Religion, which the Devils have
 " caused amongst you in revenge for the loss of their altars and
 " sacrifices. It is this, (and you are sensible of it at this time by
 " too woful experience ;) it is this, I say, that is the most terrible per-
 " secution that the Church can suffer. For indeed, the rage of those
 " whom we have lately conquered was confined to men's bodies, which
 " it made more glorious, by causing them to bear the marks of the con-
 " stancy and resolution of the soul, as we see and reverence in the per-
 " sons of those illustrious Confessors of JESUS CHRIST that are here
 " present. But the fury of the division that is amongst you, spreading it-
 " self into your hearts and minds, stirs you up against one another, di-
 " sturbs your peace, destroys the faith, by rending it doubtful, fills
 " every place with tumults and disorders ; and after all, exposes our Re-
 " ligion to the scorn, derision and blasphemies of our adversaries,
 " who thence take advantage to revile it. To remedy so great an evil,
 " I thought nothing would be so powerful, as the whole Church ad-
 " ding with authority in this holy assembly, which represents it. I
 " have contributed on my part all that I thought requisite for the
 " calling of it ; and now that I see it so numerous, and so full of
 " great men, I feel within me a pleasure which I cannot express to
 " you. For I make no doubt, but that as you are here united in
 " one body, you will also unite in one mind, in order to restore
 " peace to the Church. Go on then, Ministers of the great God,
 " go on unanimously together, and remove the cause of this disor-
 " der ; determining, by the oracles of the sacred writings, what
 " ought to be believed upon the point in dispute. You may deliver your
 " opinions freely upon this matter at present ; but at last you must
 " all unite in one opinion, to put an end to the controversy. I order

(q) *In hoc signo vinces.*

" you

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“ you to do it as your Emperor and Master ; and I intreat you likewise, as one that has the honour with you to be servant to the same Lord and the same Master, whom we serve and adore ; which if you do, you render to God an acceptable service ; and you will likewise, I must tell you, oblige your Emperor, who expects this from you, as a benefit for which he will be accountable.”

(q) He spoke this in Latin to keep up the dignity of the Empire ; and one of his secretaries read it immediately after in Greek, for the satisfaction of the whole assembly, (r) who received it with great acclamations. Afterwards, those who presided in the Council declared, in few words, the occasion of their meeting, and what it was which they were to determine.

Then Eusebius of Nicomedia and his followers, seeing plainly that there was no remedy left for them, if in the Emperor's presence they did not gain some advantage by disputing, used their utmost endeavours to carry it for their opinion, or, at least, to hinder a definitive sentence, by the difficulties which they started. On the other side, the Orthodox, continuing resolute in defence of the truth, and becoming more bold by the presence of a Prince, who had so much zeal and piety, and such good intentions, opposed, with more force than ever, the false subtleties of these hereticks, by the great truths of the Scripture, and the ancient belief of the Church, from the Apostles down to that time ; so that each party being heated, nothing was ever disputed with more violence than upon this occasion.

(s) Constantine, who had a mind to bring them to a union imperceptibly and by fair means, heard both sides with extraordinary patience ; commended one, restrained the heat and violence of another ; caused those who ran from the point in hand, to return to it ; softened whatever expressions were harsh, and prevented the breaking in upon order, speaking familiarly in Greek to all, inviting them to agree, and bringing over the greatest part of those, who, through a desire of vanquishing, or shame of yielding, continued still obstinate in their particular opinion. In short, he forgot nothing that an excellent moderator could do, to preserve order and keep them within bounds, and put an end, so happily as he did, to the dispute that was in this Council.

(q) Euseb.

(r) Euseb.

(s) Euseb. Sozom. c. 19.

G

(t) For

(*t*) For as soon as, by the Emperor's order, they came to vote, above three hundred Bishops unanimously declared for the Catholic verity, which they had all along so resolutely defended in the course of the dispute; and the Son of God, to the great joy of (*u*) Constantine, was declared to be consubstantial with his Father, and entirely equal to him in all his divine perfections, according to the form of Faith drawn up by Hosius, one (*x*) of the Presidents of the Council; and they (*y*) published the condemnation of the detestable doctrine of Arius; which being reduced to several propositions, was anathematized, together with all those who were maintainers of it.

(*z*) Eusebius of Nicomedia, with sixteen Bishops of his party, willing to use their utmost endeavours, opposed the decree, and rejected with scorn the word *Consubstantial*: But Constantine forthwith declared, that he would have what had been determined inviolably observed; and that if any one refused to submit to it, he would send him into banishment, and exclude him from the society of men, as a wicked and impious wretch, (*a*) who rebelled against the decrees of God himself. For which reason, the greatest part of them, who were unwilling to incur the Emperor's displeasure, and the loss of their Bishopricks, soon resolved to suit themselves to the times, and to sign whatever they should be required: (*b*) But especially Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, tho' he was in suspense at first what to do, and had even declared that he would not sign; yet, after having considered of it during the night, (*c*) he thought it better to preserve himself in his metropolitan Church, and the Emperor's favour, than in that of Eusebius of Nicomedia, with whom he had made so close a friendship, only to advance himself at Court by his means. Wherefore, the next morning, quitting his party, he came in full Council and subscribed without reserve, to the Consubstantiality of the Word, and the condemnation of Arius; (*d*) though in writing to his Church, a few days after, he used so much disguise and artifice in (*e*) explaining the term *Consubstantial*, as plainly shewed that, to save his credit, he would be thought not to have changed; and that he al

(*t*) Niceph. l. 8. c. 16. (*u*) Athan. ad Jovian. de fide. — Epist. ad Soli.
Socr. lib. 1. cap. 5. (*x*) See Notes above (*y*) Ruff. l. 1. c. 7. Socr. lib. cap. 7.
(*z*) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 19. (*a*) Sozom. cap. 20. (*b*) Sozom. *ibid.* Socr.
lib. 1. cap. 5. (*c*) Athan. de decr. cont. Ari. (*d*) Athan. *ibid.* Epist.
Euseb. apud Socr. cap. 5. &c. (*e*) Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 12,

along understood it according to the sense and meaning which he gave it.

In the mean time, the Bishop of Nicomedia, surprized at seeing himself deserted by the greatest part of his creatures, began to consult with the few Bishops that he had left, how they might appease the storm that threatned them, without being obliged to subscribe to the Orthodox confession of Faith; and after all, they agreed that there was but one remedy, and that was to present another confession, couched in terms less disagreeable, which the Council might receive for the sake of peace, and they themselves afterwards interpret after their own way, and in the sense which they kept concealed, in order to publish it at a fitter opportunity. Having then composed such confession of Faith, they presented it to the Council, as containing the same doctrine that had been established, and differing in nothing but a few expressions, which (said they) ought not to hinder their uniting all together in the same opinion. But as soon as they saw that the term *Consubstantial*, and the condemnation of the doctrine of Arius, (f) who had been anathematized, because he still persisted in his heresy, was not in it; then the whole assembly began to cry, with one voice, that that confession was a mere cheat and delusion, which only concealed their error under equivocal terms, to prevent its being justly condemned; and this was carried on with so much heat, that they caused it to be torne immediately in the presence of those Bishops who had presented it, and whom they openly styled rebels against God, and traytors to Religion. This so confounded those that came with Eusebius, that Menophantus of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Sythopolis, Narcissus of Neronias, and Maris of Chalcedon, who were the chief of his friends, quitted him, and went at that instant and subscribed the Council's confession of Faith; so that Eusebius had no body now left with him but Theognis of Nice, Theonas of Marmorica, and Secundus of Ptolemais.

Eusebius however would not yield yet; for what will not an head of a party do, especially in Religion, to maintain his ground, and preserve the authority that he has gained over those of his sect? For this purpose he devised a subtlety, of which he was the first inventor, and which he thought would be very proper to defend him

(f) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 5. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 20. Theodor. lib. cap. 7.

from the thunder-claps which he expected on the part of the Council, by being deposed; and from the Emperor, by being banished. There (g) were two parts in the form drawn up by Hosius; one was that confession of Faith which we daily make in the Nicene Creed, where the word *Consubstantial* was made use of; the other the condemnation of certain propositions taken from Arius's books and discourses. The first contained only the justice of the cause, being a plain exposition of the Catholick Faith: In the second, both the matter of fact and right were joined together in a condemnation of the doctrine of Arius, included in those propositions. Eusebius, after having well considered the confession of Faith, concluded with himself, that the only way to perplex the Fathers, and preserve his own party in following the doctrine of Arius, was to make a distinction between the matter of fact and the matter of right. He therefore represented to the Council, in very respectful terms, "That he submitted to their determinations, (h) concerning the Faith, and consented to subscribe to it, even admitting the word *Consubstantial*, according to the genuine signification of it, and consequently that he held no erroneous opinion: But that as for the condemnation of Arius, he could not subscribe to it; not that he had a mind to reject the points of Faith which they had decided, but because he did not think that he, whom they accused, was in the error that they laid to his charge: That, on the contrary, he was entirely persuaded, by the letters which he received from him, and by the conferences which he had had with him, that he was a man whose sentiments were entirely different from those for which he was condemned." It is hard to conceive a greater piece of impudence, supported by less good sense and judgment, than that of this Bishop upon this occasion: For they had by them the writings of Arius, which had been just read and examined in the Council: He had been often heard to explain his meaning in the dispute; and yet his protector durst assert, in opposition to the whole assembly of Fathers, that they did not rightly take nor understand the sense of his words, and that it was a matter of fact which was not to be questioned: So true is it, that after passion has once seduced the mind, it is actuated afterwards only by the will, which is blind, and hinders us at length from seeing any thing as it is, and makes us imagine we see that which is not. But the Council was so

(g) Athan. ad Jovian. de fide,

(h) Libell. Euseb. apud Socr. lib. 1. cap. 20.

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enraged at this way of proceeding, that perceiving him to continue still inflexible in this obstinate resolution which he had taken, (i) not to subscribe to the condemnation of Arius, under pretence that it concerned a matter of fact, which he might judge of by his ears and eyes, they condemned those four Bishops as hereticks, and deprived them of their sees. They even chose two others to put in the places of Eusebius and Theognis, namely, Amphion for Nicomedia, and Chrestus for Nice; being well assured, that Constantine would not fail to support their sentence. (k)

After this, these rebels being excluded, the Council finished, in several other sittings, the two points concerning the celebration of (l) Easter, and the cause of Melitius, author of the schism in Egypt, which remained to be decided. Melitius was confined to his city of Lyons, retaining only the name of a Bishop, and being prohibited from exercising any of the functions; and Easter was ordered to be celebrated throughout the whole Church no longer after the Jewish manner, on the fourteenth day of the moon's age; but according to the tradition of the Apostles, on the Sunday following the first full moon after the Vernal Equinox: Which the Council signified, together with the condemnation of Arius, in a Synodical (m) letter, addressed to all the Churches under the Patriarch of Alexandria.

In the mean time, Constantine apply'd himself on his part to second the Council, with all the vigour that could be expected, from an Emperor, who had so much zeal and authority. (n) He condemned Arius to banishment; and at the same time wrote particular letters to the people of Alexandria, whom that heretick had first tainted with his errors; and after the condemnation of that impious wretch, he obliged them to unite all together in the faith of the Nicene Fathers, whose decisions (he said) were those of God himself.

(o) He sent circular letters in form of an edict to the Bishops and Magistrates of every city, in which he ordered that Arius and his

(i) Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 7. Epist. Syn. ad Alex. apud Socr. l. 1. c. 6. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 5. Theodor. l. 1. cap. 10. Sozom. l. 1. cap. 20. (k) Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 9.

(l) See Notes above, p. 2. and Prideaux Connect. Part II. B. IV. p. 234. (m)

Socr. lib. 1. cap. 6. (n) Sozom. ibid. Ruff. lib. 2. cap. 5. Socrat. l. 1. c. 6.

(o) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 20. Socrat. ibid.

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disciples, since they had renewed the impiety of the philosopher (p) Porphyrius, who had written several abominable books, against the truth of the Christian Religion, should from thence-forward be called Porphyrians, in order to carry the infamy of their original in their name. And as the writings of that philosopher (q) were burnt by order of this same Emperor, who also punished him with banishment, so the books of this arch-heretick were burnt likewise; every one being forbidden, upon pain of death, to save so much as one of them; for his head was to be cut off as soon as he was taken. (r) This concerns chiefly a very abominable book of Arius's, entitled, *Thalia*, that is, a feast, or rather a lewd entertainment, which the Council had prohibited all the faithful from reading. (s) For besides the blasphemies against Jesus Christ, which it contained, to make himself more acceptable to the libertines and women of (t) Alexandria, whom above all he endeavoured to win over to his party; this wicked man had composed it in a soft and pleasant style, and in a sort of short verses, which a certain bad poet of Candia, called Sofades, had invented in the Ionick dialect, for the reciting and singing the most execrable impurities in the height of their lewd entertainments.

This is what the Emperor decreed against Arius and his disciples: And as for the four Bishops who refused to subscribe to his condemnation; after they were condemned and deprived by the Council, (u) he commanded them to be carried into banishment. This just severity of Constantine, and his unshaken constancy, even against him, who, by the favour of the Empress Constantia, was thought to have great interest at court, brought these rebels to themselves, abated their pride, and made them, in appearance at least, to do whatever they were required. (x) For, in the first place, Arius, and his two chief disciples Euzoïus and Achillas, pretended to return to the Faith, and to be perfectly undeceived, begging pardon of the Council, and humbly intreating the Fathers to admitt them into their

(p) He was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A.D. 233, and above called Melchior; which, upon his going into Greece, he changed for Porphyrius, a Greek word, of the same signification as the other in the Phœnician language: His book against the Christian Religion, (to which he was a bitter enemy) was answered by St. Jerome. *Præf. Connect.* P. II. B. III. p. 205. (q) *Hier. in Chr.* (r) *Socr. lib. 1. cap. 6.* Sozom. l. 1. c. 20. Athan. or. 2. cont. Arian. de sent. (s) *Dion. cont. Ar. lib. 1.* (t) *Mart. Epigr. lib. 2.* (u) *Sozom. cap. 23. Socr. cap. 5. Ep. Syn. Aleant. apud Socr. cap. 6.* (x) *Libell. Euseb. apud Socr. cap. 10. Hier. dial. adv. Lat.*

presence, protesting that they were very ready to satisfy them, and to submit to them in every thing, without exception. The Council, imitating the goodness of him whom they represented, and who desired not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, received their request graciously, and caused them to be called into the assembly, (y) where, after having given satisfaction in every thing that was asked them, and publicly abjured their heresy, they were re-established in the exercise of their Ministerial office, upon condition nevertheless not to return any more to Alexandria, where they had been the occasion of so much disorder. The two African Bishops, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, who blindly followed Arius, and were the first that were seduced by him, followed his example, and received the like favour.

This last stroke quite confounded Eusebius; he found himself reduced to the last extremity, being left almost alone, and forsaken by every body, except only one Bishop, who was Theognis of Nice, who always followed his fortune. He knew very well that Constantine's order was going to be put in execution against him; and since he could not bring himself to a resolution of quitting the Court, which he was passionately fond of, nor of losing so good a Bishoprick, which he had purchased by more than one crime; he at length chose rather to debase and humble himself for the present, in order to preserve himself in his post, where he might easily find an opportunity of rising again. (z) For this purpose, he employed the most powerful friends he had at Court to intercede for him with the Emperor; and at the same time he, with Theognis of Nice, (a) presented a petition to the Council, expressed in the most humble and respectful terms. They therein represented, That indeed they had before been unwilling to subscribe to Arius's condemnation, because they had thought that he was not in reality a man of such sentiments as were attributed to him; but that now they were resolved to submit their opinion to the holy Council, in that matter, and do do whatever they appointed: That, however, they did not do this out of any fear of banishment, to which they were condemned, but only that they might not be accounted hereticks, by persisting in their refusal: That since Arius himself, who was the cause of the mischief, and more

(y) *Socr. ibid.* (z) *Epist. Const. ad Nicom. apud Theod. l. 3. c. 20.* (a) *Libell. Euseb. & Theogn. apud Socr. l. 1. c. 10.*

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criminal than any, had been received into favour; it was not just that they who had only erred through following him, should become more guilty by their silence, or be refused the same favour when they desired it: That they most humbly intreated the Fathers to use their good offices for them with the Emperor; and in the mean time, to enjoin them whatever they, in their wisdom, should think requisite. All the Fathers, who ardently desired to have all the members of the Council re-united together, with open arms received these Bishops who returned last to their duty, and seemed to be affected with a sincere repentance, which they expressed by their humiliation. What was most extraordinary at this juncture, was, that at the same time that the Fathers went to intercede for the Bishops with the Emperor, that Prince, prevailed upon by the humble intreaties of Eusebius's friends, was also about to desire the Council to be merciful to them, and restore them again if they submitted: (b) So that both the one and the other finding in themselves the same favourable disposition towards them, they were restored by the Council, and the Emperor reversed the sentence which he had given against them. Thus was the heresy of Arius condemned, with one consent, by the three hundred and eighteen Bishops, who subscribed this condemnation, and the profession of Faith, which confirms the *Consabstantiality* of the Word of God. (c) After which, they drew up the Decrees and Canons of this holy Council, which were sent to Sylvester, then Bishop of Rome, who, in the thirteenth Council of Rome, where there were present two hundred and seventy five Bishops, confirmed them in these words: "We confirm with our mouth that which has been decreed at Nice, a city of Bithynia, by the three hundred and eighteen holy Bishops, for the good of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, Mother of the Faithful. We anathematize all those who shall dare to contradict the Decrees of the great and holy Council which was assembled at Nice, in the presence of that most pious and venerable Prince the Emperor Constantine." And to this, all the Bishops answered, "We consent to it."

Every thing being thus finished at Nice, the holy Council, which had begun the 19th of June, was happily put an end to the (d) 25th of

(b) Epist. Const. ad Nicomed. apud Theod. l. 1. c. 19. *Her. adv. Lucifer.* Ser. l. 1. c. 10. *Sezom.* l. 2. c. 15. (c) Dion. Exig. *Præf. Conc. Nicæni* in Collect. Crescon. Conc. Rom. F. 1. Conc. (d) Conc. Chalc. act. 1. *Collect. Crescon.* Euseb. lib. 3. de vitâ Const. cap. 14.

August, in the same year of our Lord 325. to the incredible joy of (e) Constantine, who never grew weary of giving continual thanks to God, that so fatal a division being rooted out, he at length saw all the Churches of the East and West re-united together, by the bond of the same spirit, in the Catholick belief. He said, that after having overcome the Tyrants that disputed the Empire with him, he had now gained another victory, which he esteemed more glorious, it being against the enemy of the Church; and it was but right that they should celebrate a solemn festival, as a triumph dedicated to JESUS CHRIST. It happened also, by lucky chance, (f) that the juncture of time fell out very favourable to this design: For it was the twentieth year of his Empire, which was to be celebrated with publick testimonies of joy, according to a custom which was observed every five years, and still more solemnly every tenth. Besides, having ten years before created his eldest son Constantine, Cæsar; he designed to raise his (g) second son Constantius to the same dignity, declaring him as well as his brother successor to the Empire. (h) He therefore ordered that the festival, which used to be made upon this occasion at the beginning of the year, should be renewed for the sake of the Nicene Fathers with more than ordinary magnificence: In the first place, by publick prayers for the Emperor's safety, which he had appointed instead of the sacrifices that were in use before: In the next place, by publick games, banquets, combats, and publick shews; with all other sorts of diversions and rejoicing. And it being the custom, during that solemnity, to make a Panegyrick upon the Prince, (i) that honour was given to Eusebius of Cæsarea, who employed all the force and ornament of eloquence upon that subject, in the presence of all the fathers of the Council, who surrounded the Emperor; whose great virtues, and uncommon zeal and piety, he extolled to the skies, by commendations no less true than extraordinary.

Besides, this admirable Prince, to do the more honour to the Fathers, concluded this great festival with the most magnificent entertainment that ever was seen, which all the Council had the honour to partake of in his own palace. (k) The whole three hundred and eighteen Bishops were invited; and there was not one of all the great

(e) See Tillem. Conc. de Nice.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 40.

(h) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. ult.

(i) Euseb. Præfat. in vit. Const.

(k) Euseb.

lib. 3. cap. 14. & 15.

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Saints who were present at that august assembly, that excused himself, either upon the account of his great age, or the austerity of life which he professed. They all received that honour with abundance of respect, as it were to consecrate, by their presence, the magnificence which that great Prince shewed only to honour God in his Ministers. Eusebius, who was one of the chief of the guests, says, that what he there saw, was beyond whatever the most skilful in the art of speaking or describing could express. Constantine, who went to the assembly of the Fathers almost like a private person, without guards, ordered them, when they came to this his entertainment, to be received with the same ceremony as the Emperor himself. They entered the Palace through two ranks of the guards, placed, with their swords drawn, on each side the streets, the court, and the halls, quite up to the Prince's lodgings, who received them with a sort of religious veneration, even kissing the wounds of such as bore those glorious (1) marks of their constancy in confessing JESUS CHRIST under their tortures. The most considerable amongst them, as the Patriarchs, Hosius, &c. he set at his own table; the rest were set at several tables, placed in the rooms next adjoining. The order and magnificence, number and variety of the dishes, and the placing and stately attendance, had so admirable an effect, that we could not form, says Eusebius, a brighter image of the glory of JESUS CHRIST, even in his kingdom; and that reflecting with himself upon those pleasing objects, he could not think but that it was rather a dream than any thing real: So much did that which was then performed, surpass what seemed possible to be done. Yet it went still farther; for at the end of the feast, before they rose from table, every one had magnificent presents sent him, according to his rank and quality, but still proportionable to the greatness of soul and majesty of Constantine. And to make every body preserve the memory of that great day, and (m) the happy finishing of the Council, which was the cause of that rejoicing, as procuring peace to the Church, he caused a prodigious sum of money to be distributed to the people in the cities and country thereabouts.

In short, when the Bishops were about to return to their Churches, he caused them to assemble once more for the last time in his palace.

(1) Theodor. lib. i. cap. 11.

(m) Euseb. *ibid.*

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(*π*) he made an excellent discourse to recommend to them the peace of the Church, (*ο*) which they might preserve, by inviolably keeping amongst themselves a perfect union both of heart and mind, in a unity of doctrine, and conformity of opinion, to what the Holy Ghost had by them now established in the Council: After which he concluded, with beseeching them to offer continually their ardent prayers to God, for him, his children, and his Empire. The Bishops, overcome with joy, were at a loss for terms strong enough to express their thanks to the Emperor; but that Prince, who put no bounds to his care and generosity, when the service of God and his Church was concerned, surprised them still more, when he shewed them the letters which he had ordered to be dispatched to all the Bishops who were absent from the Council, to oblige them to receive and observe what had been decided in it; (*ρ*) and likewise others to all his Lieutenants throughout the Empire, whom he ordered to distribute yearly to poor widows, and virgins that had dedicated themselves to Religion, and to all the Ministers of the Churches a certain measure of corn, which contained abundance more than was sufficient for their maintenance. This done, he dismissed them; and those holy Bishops having embraced each other, and being loaded with favours and honours, as well as filled with joy, returned to their several Churches, displaying all over the world the tokens of the victory of JESUS CHRIST, and the glory of Constantine.

(*π*) Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.
Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 11.

(*ο*) Sozom. cap. ult.

(*ρ*) Euseb. *ibid.*



THE





THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM.

BOOK II.



THE Heat of Arianism seemed now to be utterly extinguished, as well by the unanimous consent, with which it was condemned by the Bishops assembled in the Council of Nice, as by the solemn abjuration which Arius himself and his followers had made of their Doctrine: But it soon appeared that the fire only lay concealed, that it might afterwards do the more mischief.

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Let us now see by what artifices and secret contrivances they were able, not only to keep on foot, but to make more powerful a party that was looked upon as entirely ruined, and which durst not declare themselves.

Eusebius of Nicomedia, who knew that the greatest part of his friends, especially Arius, had, as well as himself, only signed the Nicene confession out of complaisance or fear, having assembled them together, found no difficulty to bring them to their former disposition, and make them resolve never to quit their enterprize. All that re-

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ained, was to consider by what means they should accomplish it; so that after having well considered the matter, they resolved upon these four things: First, That it was necessary to dissemble with Constantine, whose unshaken steadiness in the Faith they were not unacquainted with; and that in expectation of a more favourable opportunity, they should always declare that they stuck to the decisions of the Council. Secondly, That they should make it their business to strengthen their party, by gaining under-hand as many as they could, especially at Court. Thirdly, That they should endeavour to ruin those who opposed their designs; but especially Athanasius, who defended Alexander the Patriarch their enemy, (a) and who was the most powerful adversary that had opposed them in the Council. Lastly, That they should set all their engines at work, to (b) re-establish Arius in Alexandria, that he might recover the credit and interest which he had there before his condemnation, which by that very means would appear to be unjust.

These things being thus determined, every one began to apply himself to the particular part which he was to act; but above all, Eusebius, who was, as it were, the soul of the party. As he was a great courtier, and upon all occasions supported by the favour of the Empress Constantia, he easily recovered the Emperor's esteem; who, besides, was very well satisfied with his having submitted to the Council, thinking he had done it heartily and sincerely. He afterwards found it no difficult matter to gain several at Court, whom he drew over to him by all manner of artifices, they expecting to reap great advantages from his favour: So that having gotten a great number of dependents, in whom he could confide, he thought himself in a condition to put his design of ruining Athanasius in execution, and re-establishing Arius at the first opportunity, which then offered as favourable as could be desired.

The Patriarch Alexander having now returned to his Church victorious, both over the Arians and (*) Melitians, laboured with all his might to keep them both in their duty, and make them strictly observe the decrees of the Council of Nice. He placed those Schismatics in the very (c) lowest rank that they were reduced to by the Council: And as the heresy of the other had begun by a Priest,

(a) Epist. Epist. Ægypt. apud Athanas. Apol. 2.

(b) de Synod. Arim.

(*) See Note (c) B. I. p. 24

(b) Athanas. Apol. 2.

(c) Epiph. Har. 61

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who had the care of one of the Churches of Alexandria, he would not, for the future, allow any Priest to preach there; and notwithstanding his advanced age, and the vast number of people that inhabited that great city, he reserved to himself the sole power of preaching in it, which his successors observed a long while after him. (d) This proceeding furiously enraged that party against him and against Athanasius, whom they looked upon as the author of what the Patriarch did. However, the good old man, worn out with years and fatigues, died about six months after his return; (e) and the Melitians taking advantage from his death, began to revive their schism in Egypt. Melitius, the head of them, whom the Council thought it sufficient to suspend from his functions, (f) not being satisfied with having a little before ordained Arsenius Bishop of the Hypelites, soon after, when he was upon his death-bed, substituted in his place one John, a creature of his, who was as wicked and seditious as himself. This man, surpassing his predecessor in presumption, assembled all the schismaticks, and caused Theonas, one of their faction, to be (g) elected in the room of the Patriarch Alexander; but he lived only three months after this presumptuous election, which was rejected and looked upon as of no force in Alexandria. And as soon as Athanasius, whom his Patriarch had sent to Court about some affairs of the Church, was returned, a synod of all the orthodox Bishops of (h) Egypt, Lybia, Thebais, and Pentapolis, made choice of him, to the incredible joy of the people, who came from all parts, and with loud acclamations required Athanasius to be placed on the throne of S. Mark.

(i) The Melitians being enraged at this election, and seeing that the Patriarch acted with the same resolution as his predecessor had done, they openly revolted against him, and caused greater disorders throughout all Egypt, than had been committed by the author of their schism. Eusebius of Nicomedia having been informed of these new disorders, made no question but that he should be able to bring this powerful faction over to his party, and to make use of it effectually to ruin Athanasius. (k) He therefore wrote to the chief of the Melitians, by trusty persons, whom he sent secretly to treat

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(d) Sozom. l. 7. c. 19.

(e) Athanas. Apol. 2.

(f) Sozom. lib. 2.

c. 20.

(g) Epiph. *Her.* 68.

(h) Ep. Synod. apud Athan. Apol. 2.

(i) Epiph. *Heres.* 69.

(k) Athanas. Apol. 1.

A. D. 326. with them, promising to get them secured in their dignities by infallible means, upon condition that they joined interest with him, and sincerely embraced the friendship which he offered them. These fearing the Emperor's displeasure, who they knew was resolved severely to punish those that transgressed the decrees of the Council of Nice, willingly accepted so advantageous an offer; and after having concerted the matter with those who came from Eusebius, they sent three deputies to Court, to carry their complaints to the Emperor. These deputies were John, whom Melitius at his death ordained Bishop in his stead, contrary to the decree of the Council of Nice; Callinicus Bishop of Polusium; and a wicked Monk, whose name was Paphnutius. These three professed impostors, ever since the beginning of the Schism, had been accustomed to practise the like villanies against S. Peter of Alexandria. They advanced a great way, by attacking Achilles and Alexander his successors, and made themselves complete masters in their profession by accusing S. Athanasius. As soon as they came to Nicomedia, they conferred with Eusebius, who opening himself more freely to them than he had done before by his letters, told them, (*m*) that he would procure them a powerful protection from those about Constantine; but that they, on their part, must also grant what he desired of them, which was to receive Arius and his followers to communion with them, that they might hereby make but one body and one Church for the future. The deputies made no difficulty of (*n*) promising him all that he desired, being very sure of their party's approbation; so that from thenceforward the Melitians, who then were only schismatics, became heretics; and although they had before hated the Arians, and looked upon them as blasphemous and impious wretches, (*o*) they nevertheless united together, (says S. Athanasius) like Herod and Pilate against J E S U S CHRIST.

Eusebius finding himself strengthened by so considerable a faction, began to put in execution what he had projected against S. Athanasius. In the first place, he, himself and his friends, disposed the Emperor to give a favourable hearing to the Bishops that came as deputies from Egypt, who, he told him, came to throw themselves at his feet, only to beg of him that peace which the Council had

(*l*) Synod. Alex. apud Athanas. Apol. 2.
zom. l. 2. c. 20.

(*m*) Epiph. Hæres. 68.

(*n*) So-

(*o*) Athan. Or. 1. cont. Ar.

granted

granted them, and which Athanasius continually disturbed by his violent proceedings. The deputies being informed by Eusebius, that Constantine, who desired nothing but the peace and tranquillity of the Churches, was to be attacked on this side; they told him, in a lamentable tone, in order to excite his compassion, " That in them
 " he saw at his feet the whole Egyptian Church, stretching out her
 " hands to him as her Father and Emperor, to implore his protection
 " against the violence of one single man, who hindered her from enjoy-
 " ing that peace (p) which he had procured to all the world, both by
 " his arms and piety: That an hot and impetuous young man, puff-
 " ed up by the reputation which he thought he had acquired in the
 " Council, and supported by Alexander his protector, who had
 " even nominated him for his successor, contrary to the laws and the
 " liberty of the Church, had thrust himself into the Episcopal See of
 " Alexandria, (q) by surprize, and by the faction of some particular
 " Bishops, who had elected him in private, contrary to the inclina-
 " tion of all the rest, and had maintained their election by force:
 " That they would have borne with those violent measures, rather
 " than disturb the peace of the Church, even by the just opposition
 " that might be made to that unjust invasion; if, abusing the authority
 " which he had usurped, that intruder had not exercised throughout
 " Egypt a tyranny which fell nothing short of the persecutions of
 " Licinius and Maximin: That under pretence of enforcing the
 " laws of the Council, which every one respected, they made the
 " Christians, contrary to the laws, undergo hardships, which the
 " Pagans themselves would not have inflicted: That those were daily
 " repulsed with disgrace, who by vertue of the favour which the
 " Council had granted the Melitians, came and offered themselves
 " to be (r) re-admitted into the unity of the Church: That they filled
 " every place with disorder and sedition, by the cruelties which they
 " exercised, and which were not to be endured by a free people: That
 " chains and imprisonment, scourgings and tortures, and even burn-
 " ing itself, and the firing of Churches, were the ordinary means
 " made use of by Athanasius and his adherents to establish their
 " power, at the expence of many good people, whom they could not
 " endure amongst them, or in communion with them, for fear of

(p) Sozom. l. 2. c. 21.

(q) *Ibid.* c. 16.

(r) Sozom. c. 21.

having

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“ having continually before their eyes so many witnesses of their criminal proceedings: That they most humbly besought his Majesty, whom they looked upon both as their master upon account of his power, and as their father for his goodness, to employ the one in delivering them from the great miseries which they suffered, by suppressing the audaciousness of their persecutor; and make use of the other in preserving their rights, keeping them in order, and enabling them to enjoy that peace which he had just then procured to the Church.

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Nothing was more false and more easy to be detected of falshood, than what is here alledged against S. Athanasius: But they had laid it down for a maxim, never to scruple telling a lye, which they could hope might be useful to them for a time; because, before the truth comes to be discovered, which is not usually done without some trouble, they always gain over and deceive some, who being once prepossessed, are not easily undeceived again. The Emperor having heard them patiently; gave them this prudent and mild answer; “ (i) That he desired nothing in this world so much as the peace of the Church, according to what the Council had determined: That he was very glad to find them in a resolution to submit to it: That he would write into Egypt to inform himself of the truth of things; and that he would take care to have the peace religiously observed, in conformity to the determinations of the Council.

In the mean time, as it had been contrived with the Melitians, by the policy of Eusebius, other Ecclesiasticks, and even Bishops, came daily to Court from Egypt, in order (t) to make the same, and even greater complaints against S. Athanasius; so that it was very extraordinary that so many reports, which followed one upon another, and besides, of very considerable people too, who pretended to be orthodox, and to have entirely submitted to the Council, did not make an impression upon the mind of that Prince, who had a great respect for Bishops. Besides, ever since the beginning of that contrivance, Eusebius, who had more designs than one, and who had a mind to restore Arius at the same time that he ruined Athanasius, sent a person to that good Bishop, whom he instructed what he had to do after he had delivered him his letters. By these he increased him very civilly to re-establish Arius in Alexandria, because he himself

(i) Euseb. l. 3. c. 22.

(t) Sozom. l. 2. c. 21.

was a witness of his submission, and the obedience which he had paid to the Council: That it was sufficient to satisfy what had been decreed in it, that he had been near a year without returning thither; and that the true way to restore a perfect unity, was to take away all distinction, which would be henceforward very odious, and might cause fresh disorders. This is what Eusebius wrote in very civil terms, and by way of a respectful intercession, (u) for fear of having his letters produced against him at one time or other. (x) But he whom he sent, according to the orders which he had received, perceiving that Athanasius was not disposed to give him a favourable answer, had recourse to threatnings, and insolently told him in private, that he would be ruined, if he did not give satisfaction to those who were secretly supported by the greatest and most powerful men at Court, who could infallibly undo him. The Patriarch replied, without shewing any concern, that he would satisfy his own conscience, and give an answer to him that sent him. (y) He did indeed reply, that as they ought to reconcile Hereticks and Schismatics who were penitent, so they ought never to trust the heads of a party, or the authors and inventors of an heresy, that were solemnly condemned by the Church; and that in consequence of that, he was fully resolved not to receive them into Alexandria. And at the same time, being informed of the deputation sent by the Melitians against him, (z) and what Eusebius, Thæognis, and the Arians at Court, in disguise, had said to Constantine of his pretended violent measures; he wrote to him a full account of the truth, and informed him that John and the rest of his party, who made daily complaints at Court, were schismatics, who had been ordained after a sacrilegious manner, contrary to the decrees of the holy Council; that they were united in interest with the Arians, whose errors they had even embraced; and that both the one and the other renewed the former disorders throughout Egypt, and committed abundance of outrages against the Catholics, at the same time that they endeavoured at Court to oppress them by their calumnies.

The Emperor, who had all possible good intentions, hearing from each side such contrary things, (a) neither knew what to determine, nor what exactly he ought to think; when Eusebius, artfully taking

(u) Athan. Apol. 2.
(z) Sozom. l. 2, c. 21,

(x) Sozom. l. 2. c. 17.
(a) Sozom. *ibid.*

(y) Athan. Apol. 2.

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his opportunity, represented to him, " That there was one good expedient to put an end to all the troubles of Egypt, without any necessity of examining the particulars that were alledged on both sides ; that they only need receive those, who, desiring the peace of the Church, offered themselves to be admitted into the same communion, in compliance with the determinations of the Council ; and more especially Arius, whom all good men desired to receive into Alexandria, that there might be no farther pretence for a division, he being no longer separated from his Patriarch. That there was not the least doubt of his being entirely orthodox, because he so openly professed the Nicene faith, and that he had not paid the obedience that was due to the Council, because he had been so long absent from Alexandria. What likelihood is there (said he) of peace, if those, who are in his interest in that great city, being persuaded of the truth of his Doctrine and the integrity of his life, do not return to the Church ; and what more effectual means of making them return, than receiving Arius there, whose example they would gladly follow ?" To this he added, that he could not perceive why they had so long excluded him, and by that, deferred a good which would have such happy consequences, unless, to say the truth, Athanasius did not love him, and was glad of an opportunity of revenging himself upon so able a man, who stood in his light, and had a mind to persecute him continually at the expence of the of his Church." And then he concluded with throwing, in a sly and artful manner, his poysonous inventions upon that holy Bishop, giving such a turn to things, that he made probable, or at least doubtful, what had been said as to his being of an imperious and violent temper, and apt to be transported to passion.

Constantine, who passionately desired the peace of the Church, which he looked upon as his own work, and was somewhat uneasy in his mind at seeing it so soon disturbed by new disorders, in contempt of his authority, easily suffered himself to be prejudiced against S. Athanasius, and concluded that so sad a change could not have happened in Alexandria since he was a Bishop, without his having given some room for it, by too great a severity practised at an unseasonable time. For which reason, immediately laying hold of the expedient which was just proposed ; and which he imagined to be very proper

to quiet the first commotions, and root up so great an evil at its first beginning, he sent two gentlemen of his household, Synclytius and Gaudentius, to the Patriarch, to whom they delivered his letters; in which, after having reproached him for his rigour, which was the cause of so many disorders, he required him to receive into his Church all (*b*) who offered themselves to be admitted, and particularly Arius, who (he said) had given sufficient proofs of the purity of his faith: That if he refused to do it, he would soon send those to him, who should make him quit a place for which he was so ill qualified, and carry him where he should no longer have it in his power to disturb any body.

The holy Bishop soon discovered the artifices of the Eusebians; and that he had surprized a Prince by means of his piety, which influenced him in this matter without his perceiving it, against his real intentions, which aimed at nothing else but uniting all Christians in the Catholick faith. He therefore returned an answer to him, with a freedom truly sacerdotal, joined with a very great respectfulness, as to one who was his Master; and gave him plainly to understand, that Arius was no other than a traitor, who made a mock of the Church, by still retaining his heresy, by means of (*) a deceitful subscription; and that to let Arius into Alexandria, was nothing else but (*c*) introducing Arianism, by a secret and by-way; that he begged his Majesty to make him return back, or at least oblige him to stop, without proceeding any farther in an affair, which might be attended with very dangerous consequences.

(†) Eusebius seeing plainly that he must set other engines at work than he had already prepared, (*d*) signified to the Melitians in Egypt, that now was the time to accuse the Patriarch of those pretended crimes, for which they had already suborned witnesses, and had the proofs drawn up in readiness. They therefore sent three new deputies to court, who accused Athanasius of having, by his own private authority, laid new duties upon linnen-cloth, in which they drove a great trade in Egypt; and of having exacted that tribute of the people with extraordinary rigour, running the risk of raising a dangerous sedition. But two Priests of Alexandria, Apis and Ma-

(*b*) Athan. Apol. 2. Sozom. lib. 2. c. 21.
le Conc. de Nic.

(*c*) Athan. *ibid.*

(*) See Tillem. Note ix. sur
Tillem. places the union of Eusebius
with the Melitians, and the first accusing of Athanasius, about the year 331. T. VIII.
B. I. §. 7.

(*d*) Athan. *ibid.* Sozom. cap. 21.

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carius, who by good fortune happened to be at Nicomedia at that time, discovered the falshood of that impudent accusation, shewing, that the pretended tribute was only offerings and presents, which were sometimes sent by certain persons out of devotion, for the service and ornament of the Churches. This first calumny not having succeeded; and one of the deputies, who was the reporter of it, having been treated ill by Constantine, the rest had thoughts of retiring; but the Eusebians obliged them to pursue their point, assuring them, that they should be supported. They therefore recovered their courage; and to make Macarius's evidence suspected, they alledged that he had sacrilegiously broken a consecrated vessel. After which, returning to the charge against Athanasius, they were so blindly enraged, as to accuse him of the greatest of crimes, saying, that he had endeavoured to corrupt, by money, one Philumenes, to make a dangerous attempt upon the Emperor. (e) But S. Athanasius, whom that Prince had sent for upon his being first accused, having come to Nicomedia, so plainly discovered the falsity of this horrid accusation, that Constantine, being convinced of his innocence, by his answers, his capacity, and the conferences that he had with him, (f) sent him back to his Church with commendations, declaring, that it was only to hear him discourse that he had sent for him, and not to judge him, because the Church had the right of judging in such cases.

This shews that a wicked man has no greater enemy than himself. Eusebius, and his confederate Theognis of Nice, who stirred up the Melitians, did not appear in this accusation, and no body accused them of it; but that blind passion which possessed them, of ruining S. Athanasius, not permitting them to keep within bounds, they, by pushing the matter too far in so tender a point, caused all the mischief, which they had designed against him, to fall upon themselves. For the Emperor, being sensibly concerned at an imposture which might have such pernicious consequences, resolved to enquire into the bottom of it, examining both parties in his Palace of Psammathia, which is in the suburbs of Nicomedia; (g) and having found by undeniable evidence, that Eusebius, who had entertained the Melitians, was the author of it, he conceived a very great indignation against him.

(e) Athanas. Apol. 2. Sozom. l. 2. c. 21. Socrat. l. 1. c. 20.
Const. ad Alex. Eccl. apud Athan. Ap. 24. (f) Epist. Const. ad Nicomedia, apud Theod. l. 1. c. 20.

(g) Epist. Const. ad Nicomedia, apud Theod. l. 1. c. 20.

BOOK II. *The History of ARIANISM.*

63

and calling to mind what he had formerly done against the Church, and against himself, when that Prelate, contrary to his conscience, followed the party of Licinius, the persecutor of the Christian Name; he caused the decree of the Council of Nice, which deprived him of his Bishoprick, to be put in execution against him, (b) and sent him into exile, at a great distance off, with Theognis the partner of his crime, and his disciple Euzoïus, whom they protected, and for whom both of them had been guilty of such abominable deceits.

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327.

Whilst these things happened at Nicomedia, where Constantine still continued, he caused his city, New Rome, to be magnificently built at Byzantium, which Name he changed to that of Constantinople. It was finished in two years, and he removed thither the seat of his Empire. (i) He solemnly dedicated it to God, in memory of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord: (k) And it being the twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth since Constantine's being created Cæsar, when, according to custom, great rejoycings were to be made, he took the opportunity of making the dedication of that city the most magnificent that could possibly be. It was at this time that Constantia, who was impatient both at the disgrace and absence of Eusebius of Nicomedia, procured him to be recalled from banishment. (l) She even got her Nephew Constantius, whose good opinion Eusebius had found such means to gain, that he possessed it entirely afterwards, to join with her to this purpose; and they both together made such intercession with Constantine, that the Emperor, who could not easily have refused his sister and his son any thing they asked during that festival, and who, besides, still esteemed Eusebius, whom he had formerly had an affection for; was very willing to be at last persuaded that those two Bishops, whom he had banished, always kept to the Nicene Faith, and were not answerable for what the Egyptians had deposed against their Patriarch: And therefore he caused them to be recalled, and let them return again to their Churches.

A. D.
328.

A. D.
330.

Eusebius, instead of amending by his banishment, became thereby still more incensed against S. Athanasius, and was more resolute than ever to ruin him; but kept himself a little upon his guard, in order

(b) Tillamont says, this was done three months after the Council of Nice; so that it must have happened two years sooner than A. D. 327. for they continued three years in banishment, and were restored A. D. 328. T. VI. P. II. p. 47, 49, & 51, 53 (i) Chr. Alex. Petav. l. 11. c. 42. (k) Euseb. l. 3. de vit. Const. c. 47. Niceph. l. 8. c. 26.

(l) Baron. ad an. 330. & seq.

A. D.
330.

to take such precautions as might secure him from the Emperor's displeasure: To which purpose he was very careful to make every body believe, that he was closely attached to the determinations of the Council of Nice; for he was then persuaded that the Emperor would never suffer any attempt to be made against it; and that it was by that, most assuredly, he would always judge whether people were orthodox in their opinions. Moreover, though he earnestly desired to have Arius return, that he might settle him again in Alexandria, according to his first design, yet he took a great deal of care not to mention it at that time, for fear of making himself suspected. However, he again began to enter into measures with the Melitians, for loading S. Athanasius with new calumnies; but he took them somewhat more cautiously and secretly than before, staying purposely at Nicomedia, and absenting himself from the Court, which was at Constantinople, that he might be thought to mind nothing but the good government of his Church.

A. D.
331.

The Melitians therefore, and especially *John* their Patriarch, being informed of his return, and having received his orders, began their prosecutions against S. Athanasius, laying hold of two matters, which they thought happened very favourably. (*m*) A certain wicked wretch, whose name was *Ischyrras*, who, by an horrible kind of sacrilege, had presumed to perform the office of a Priest, and to celebrate the sacred Mysteries, though he never received Orders, had thrown himself into their protection, for fear of being punished by S. Athanasius, (*n*) who had ordered *Macarius* his Deacon to endeavour to take him: And almost at the same time, *Arfenius*, Bishop of the *Hypselites*, who had hid himself upon account of a great crime which he was guilty of, put himself also into their hands, resolving to do whatever they would have him, in order to be prosecuted by them. (*o*) The first of these they sent to Nicomedia, to conferr with *Eusebius*, who gave him secret instructions what he should do; and promised not only that he should be a Priest, but also a Bishop, provided he faithfully discharged his promise, by always acting in concert with those who had sent him; which he did not fail to do at his return. He spread a report, as it had been agreed upon between them, (*p*) that the cruel *Macarius*, whom *Athanasius* had

(*m*) Athan. Apol. 2. Socr. l. i. c. 20: (*n*) Athan. *ibid.* Sozom. l. i. c. 20:
(*o*) Socr. l. i. c. 20, (*p*) Athan. Apol. 2. Socr. l. i. c. 20

sent to abuse him, finding him sick, almost at the last extremity, had barbarously fallen upon him; and notwithstanding the wretched condition he was then in, he would not refrain from beating and abusing him; and that afterwards, venting his fury upon the most sacred things, he had broken in pieces a consecrated chalice, together with the holy table; and had thrown the sacred books into the fire.

As for Arsenius, after having hid him in a little monastery in Thebaïs, (q) the Priest or Superior of which was one of their faction, they caused it to be reported by their emissaries, that Athanasius, who was his enemy, had surprized him; and that after having killed him, he had also cut off his hand, to make use of it in the enchantments which he usually performed. There were not wanting witnesses prepared to swear this against him; and they produced the hand of a man, which they affirmed was that of Arsenius, and had been found at Athanasius's house. (r) And although Ischyas, who repented of his crime, had given his confession in writing before witnesses, and declared, that all that he had said was false, the Melitians sent to continue the proceedings of both these accusations before Constantine. As for the first, he made no account of it, because he had already rejected it, when presented to him at Nicomedia: But for the second, which related to the murder of a Bishop, as he was very much concerned at it, (s) he would have it examined into very strictly; and for that purpose gave commission to his own nephew Dalmatius, who was then at Antioch, ordering him to execute justice without mercy, upon all that should be found guilty of so great a crime: But because he was a Bishop that was to be judged, he joined with him in commission (t) two Bishops, Eusebius and Theognis, who had taken care to express abundance of moderation, and to keep themselves quiet in their Bishopricks during this accusation, as if they had had no hand in it.

Dalmatius, in order to perform the Emperor's commands, cited S. Athanasius to answer before him to the crime of which he was accused. At first he was under very little concern, depending upon his own innocence; but when he found that it was pressed home to him, and that Constantine had the matter very much at heart, (u) he caused Arsenius to be so narrowly sought after, that they, at length, found that he was hid in that little monastery in Thebaïs, where they seized the Superior who had before caused him to escape, and a Monk who had

(q) *Socr. l. 2. c. 22.* *Socr. l. 1. c. 20.*
(r) *Socr.* (u) *Socr.* *Socr. ibid.*

(s) *Athan. ibid.* (t) *Socr. ibid.*

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332,
333.

conducted him over the Nile. These having been examined by the Governor of Alexandria, confessed the whole villany. (w) It happened also, that a report being heard of his having escaped by Sea, those who were sent in search of him, were so lucky as to find him at Tyre, where being convicted, and having at last confessed before Paul, the Bishop of that place, that he was the true Arsenius, they secured him. After which, the Patriarch sent his Deacon Macarius to Constantine, to give him an account of the whole matter, and carry him convincing proofs of the calumny of his adversaries. He was so much concerned at it, that immediately, revoking the commission which he had given to his nephew Dalmatius, he wrote letters to S. Athanasius, which, as far as they concerned him, were very courteous, much to his honour, but full of grievous threatnings against the Melitians. He also ordered him to cause them to be publicly read before all the people, to undeceive them; and he declared, that if ever it happened that those base slanderers were guilty of such another wicked action, he would not refer it any more to the judgment of the Church only; but, that taking cognizance of it himself, according to the utmost rigour of the Law, he would treat them as impious wretches, who not only made attempts against men, but even against God himself. And that there might be nothing wanting to complete the glory of S. Athanasius, and the satisfaction of Constantine, who so earnestly desired the peace of the Church: (x) Arsenius, whom they had suffered to escape, and also John, the chief of the Melitians, repented of their crimes; and renouncing their schism, submitted themselves to the Patriarch, and were received again into communion with him, as John gave an account in writing to the Emperor; who, by his letters, expressed his satisfaction at it, and afterwards gave him leave to come to Constantinople.

Their malicious aspersions against S. Athanasius seemed now to be confounded, and the impiety of his enemies disarmed; and nothing appeared capable of hurting him for the future, who was so honourably cleared; or of raising the courage of his enemies, who were so shamefully cast down. But things were very far from being in this posture; for it is the peculiar property of hereticks not to be daunted at their forgeries being discovered; but, on the contrary, to maintain it by new falsities, in order to perplex people's minds, through the natural inclination that we have to believe the worst; and make them

(w) Athanas.

(x) Athanas. *ibid.*

doubtful at least, if they are not deceived themselves, whilst they think that they could soonest discover the cheat. Eusebius, who secretly set all these springs in motion, was not surprized to find his measures broken, by an accident which was likely to ruin their whole enterprize, and soon found means to set matters to rights, and again put them in such a condition, as in a little time to make them have the desired effect. This is the method which he made use of.

He perfectly well understood the disposition of Constantine; and knew, that among a great many good qualities which that Prince was master of in perfection, he had a small failing, which at the bottom was even founded on vertue, (*y*) and by which it was not impossible to surprize him: For Eusebius of Casarea, who has given us a panegyrick upon him rather than his history, freely acknowledges that he was very easily deceived by a specious appearance of piety; that as he was a man of a great soul, honest, sincere and generous, and susceptible of the noblest and most tender sentiments that Religion could inspire, he had a great confidence in those who made a more than ordinary profession of a religious and upright life, (*z*) and could not be persuaded that there was any mixture, in their devotion, of cunning and hypocrisy to deceive him; but particularly, those devotees that were about him had cunning enough to persuade him, by their conduct, that they were zealous for his service, and much more attached to his person than fortune. This pretended affection made such an impression upon him, that being already prepossessed with an opinion of their sanctity, he could not easily avoid being imposed upon by them, nor defend himself from their villany. Eusebius, who had sufficiently studied this Prince, and had found out his weak side, instructed the Bishops, whom he had always about him, how they were to behave themselves, in order to gain his good opinion by their pretended piety and zeal for his service. They, having without much difficulty succeeded, took their opportunity after the first heat of Constantine's affection for S. Athanasius was abated, and failed not of raising suspicions, that there might have been some artifice in his proceedings; and to insinuate by the by, that for the good of the Church, that matter ought to be cleared up by means that were lawful, and might be depended upon.

They therefore represented to Constantine, " That in an affair of this importance, in which the ruin or preservation of the principal

(*y*) Euseb. vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 54.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

" Church.

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333.

“ Church of the East was concerned, they ought not to be confined to appearances, which were very deceitful: That if Arsenius was indeed alive, as it was alledged, Athanasius’s innocence was not to be doubted; but that this was the point which ought carefully to be examined; because there were several who asserted, that it was only a trick of the Patriarch’s, who had practised a great many more: That it was not impossible but that some person might be suborned to suffer himself to be taken, as if he was the true Arsenius, and who, to carry it on the better, had not owned it but at the very last: That examples of such impostures and cheats were very common: That a very little resemblance to a man, who had not appeared for a great while, joined with abundance of assurance and boldness, might easily impose upon the world: That as for John, who was so suddenly reconciled to the Patriarch, whom he had all along positively accused, that very reconciliation ought to make the matter sufficiently suspicious, and give reason to think, that he might probably have done, upon this occasion, what those who are apprehensive of justice, and gain their cause at length by bribes and promises, usually do; that is, procure an accusation to be dropped, from which they could not clear themselves without abundance of difficulty: That it might also happen, that fear had a great share in this pretended reconciliation, because the Patriarch had gained such a power in Egypt, and was become so formidable to all who were called Melitians, that the poor wretches chose rather to suffer than to complain, because their complaints were always attended with worse treatments than they had met with already: That in all cases, the most safe way was always to examine matters in form; and that his majesty’s conscience, which was accountable to God, would be cleared, when according to the usage of the Church, a Synod was called of such Bishops as feared God, and were free from suspicion, to take cognizance of this cause: That it greatly concerned S. Athanasius, in regard to his quiet and reputation, to have this done, that his innocence might never be brought in question again, being acknowledged in a judicial way by a whole Council; and that it concerned the publick to have the Bishop of the chief See in the East, not only void of any crime, but even not so much as suspected.”

All these things spoken in cold blood, and with an air of prudence and piety, with a great shew of reason, which was so well disguised under

under many specious pretences ; and by Bishops too, whom Constantine had in great veneration, upon account of their character and virtue, made an impression upon his mind. And what entirely brought him over, was, that the agents of Eusebius, having intercepted John at his arrival at Constantinople, easily made him come into their interest, by the assurances which they gave him, that they should soon have that affair in their own management ; and they afterwards obliged him to speak to the Emperor in such terms as were agreeable to what they had represented to him ; so that that Prince, who had reasons offered him on all sides, which made that matter at least doubtful, and was fearful of engaging in an affair, which they made appear nice to him, in regard to conscience, very gladly accepted the proposal that was made to him, of laying the burden of it upon an assembly of Bishops, who would be answerable for him before God. He likewise formed to himself a very good reason for calling that assembly. The Pagans, to affront our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, (*a*) by profaning his holy sepulchre, had covered it over with earth, and set up the idol of Venus upon it. As soon as Constantine was master of the East, he caused that abomination to be taken down ; the holy sepulchre to be uncovered ; and in that very place built a magnificent Temple called Martyricon, or the testimony of Christ's Resurrection, and the Basilicon or Royal Church of Constantine. And as he was now about to enter upon the thirtieth year of his (*b*) reign, he had a mind to have the Bishops assembled, that during that time of rejoicing, the consecration and dedication of that Church might be performed with the greater solemnity. He therefore wrote to those Bishops whom he had chosen for S. Athanasius's judges, by the advice of those in whom he had too much confidence, and ordered them to meet at Cæsarea, the Metropolis of Palestine, (*c*) which is not far from Jerusalem. But when he saw that the Patriarch excused himself from coming, he signified to him by letters, in terms somewhat sharp, how much he was displeased with that refusal, which he by no means approved of. However, considering that he might entertain a suspicion of that place, because of Eusebius, who was Bishop of it, he ordered that assembly to be held at Tyre, the Metropolis of Phœnicia. (*d*) He would have S. Athanasius's cause forthwith examined, and a speedy end put to

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D. A.
334.

^B (*a*) Euseb. l. 3. de vit. Const. c. 24. Sozom. l. 2. c. 25.
^B c. 20. (*c*) Theodor. lib. 1. c. 28. Sozom. l. 2. c. 24.
¹ Const. l. 4.

(*b*) Socrat. l. 1.
(*d*) Euseb. de vit.

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the differences which it had occasioned, that all the Bishops being united in the bonds of peace and with a perfect reconciliation, they might be qualified, as the Gospel appoints, to offer unto God those gifts which were necessary to be presented at the dedication of the Temple.

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335.

In truth, Constantine had very good intentions, but they were attended with very pernicious consequences, through the malice of those hypocrites who deceived him; and who, instead of a lawful Synod, called together only a wretched assembly, contrary to all the forms of the Church. (e) For in the first place, there were none summoned to it, but those whom the Eusebians thought fit to mention to Constantine; and they having found means to make him believe that they themselves were very zealous Catholics, persuaded him that the only true way to settle that peace, which he so much desired, upon a solid foundation, was to call no Bishops so that assembly, but such as had the same intentions as himself, and whom he might confide in. There appeared at it the chief heads of the faction and of the Arian heresy, which those traitors, in order to deceive Constantine, pretended to have in abhorrence, at the same time they were endeavouring with all their might to restore them. They had there their principal confederates. Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodorus of Laodicea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Ursacius and Valens, the one Bishop of Singidun, the other of Marcia in Pannonia, (f) and several more, to the number of sixty: the greatest part of whom they thought themselves well assured of, and they made no doubt but that they should easily draw in the rest. Moreover they had prevailed with Constantine to send Count Dionysius rather under pretence of keeping order, and preventing any disturbance or tumult; but it was really to get all things into their power, and that they might by force bear down his innocence, whom they had a mind to ruin. (g) For Dionysius being entirely devoted to Eusebius of Nicomedia, was, by means of his authority, or rather violent proceedings, did whatever he pleased. (h) In short, the Count came into the Council, accompanied by a great multitude of officers and soldiers, who took the count and placed themselves all round the seat, in readiness to execute, at upon the least signal, whatever orders he

(e) The Council was held at Nicaea in the year 325. (f) These were the names of the Bishops who attended the Council. (g) Dionysius was a man of great authority and power. (h) The Count was a man of great authority and power.

should receive. He gave directions, commanded silence, harangued, and ordered every thing; in effect, it was he that presided, as Eusebius had desired; so that it was not at all like an Ecclesiastical assembly, or conformable to the holy Council of Nice, where the Emperor himself would not be followed by his guards; and where he was so far from presiding, that he would have a seat lower than the rest of the assembly.

S. Athanasius, who had been cited to appear at that Council, at first refused to come thither, not being willing to acknowledge the lawfulness of that disorderly assembly, which was made up of his most implacable enemies, who had vowed his destruction; but the Emperor, who was already incensed against him for his having before refused to go to Caesarea; and who, besides, was prepossessed with a mistaken opinion, that peace would never be obtained but by this means, sent him word, that if he did not willingly obey, he would make him come thither by force: (l) So that to avoid farther exasperating so great a Prince, who thought him conscious of his guilt; and to give his enemies no room to accuse him again of rebellion and contempt of his authority, as they did when he refused to come to Caesarea, he at length resolved to obey, even where there was so little justice; and go to Tyre. He came accordingly, attended by forty seven of the most famous and holiest of the Bishops of Egypt, who came to defend their Patriarch; amongst which appeared, to the great regret of the Eusebians, these two glorious Confessors of JESUS CHRIST, Paphnutius and Pothimus, the sight of whom was intolerable to them, because the wounds which those two great saints had received in defence of the Faith, upbraided the chief of their faction with their cowardice and infamous desertion of it, when to avoid being tortured, they offered sacrifice to Idols. (m) But on the other side, there came also out of Egypt the Melitian Bishops, and several others of the same party, who had been in readiness a great while to depose against S. Athanasius, and even against those who came to defend him, whom they endeavoured to bring under a suspicion of being the accomplices of his crimes; so that the Melitians and Eusebians, to have the determination of this trial in their own power, so contrived the matter in distributing the share of the business, that every one was to have,

(l) Athanas. Apol. 1. Sozom. l. 2. c. 20. Sozom. l. 3. c. 24. Epist. Episc. Aegypt. apud Athan. Apol. 2.

(m) Epist. hazel. 68.

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335.

(n) that the latter were made the judges, and the former the accusers and witnesses.

When the Patriarch came into the Council, no body shewed him any respect, and far from offering him the first place which he ought to have had, as being Bishop of the chief See in the East, they would not so much as suffer him to sit down, but he was immediately ordered to stand up before his accusers, to hear the crimes that were laid to his charge, and to answer to them. (o) The holy Bishop of Heraclea, Potamo, not being able to bear such an indignity, broke out into a just and holy rage, and shed tears, which his great zeal drew from his eyes, and advancing with that gracious freedom which became him upon account of his age, his virtue, and advantage which he had of carrying about him the marks of his having confessed the Faith, he said, with a strong and amazing voice, to Eusebius of Caesarea, whom he saw amongst the judges: "What, Eusebius, do I then see you
" sit to judge Athanasius; and that great man, who is innocence-it-
" self, here standing before you in expectation of your judgment?
" Can you imagine that there is any one of so base a mind as to suffer
" such an indignity, without testifying his just resentment? Tell me
" then, I pray you, if you have confidence enough to answer me? Tell
" me, I say, whether it was not you, who was in the same prison with
" me during the persecution of Maximin? It was then, I believe, if my
" memory fails me not, that having, by the grace of JESUS CHRIST,
" all along stedfastly refused to do sacrifice to Idols, I had my right
" eye pulled out, and my left cheek cut off. Every thing I do brings it
" to my remembrance; and although I have now but one eye, I
" can nevertheless see well enough to observe that you have both your
" eyes, and have received no wound that disfigures you. Is it, think
" you, for having confessed the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, that
" the tyrant who treated us so cruelly, thought fit to spare you? Let
" us know by what stratagem you got out of prison, when we were
" taken thence loaden with chains to be conducted to our punishment,
" and from thence to the mines, where we continued so long over-
" whelmed with various miseries? Was it not through your being
" more obliging than us, (who did not well know whom we had to
" deal with, and how to pay our Court) that you was able to sit

(n) Athan. Apol. 2;

(o) Epiph. hær. 68;

" yourself

“yourself to the times, and submit to Maximin’s will; that you promised to do whatever he required, and, no doubt, very honourably kept your word with him? By what was it that you so well deserved his favour, but by offering incense to him as well as his Idols?” Such terrible reproaches as these coming from a man of so much consideration, and that too in a full assembly, together with those which came from his own conscience, so enraged Eusebius, that he rose immediately and went out of the assembly, followed by all the rest, saying to S. Athanasius, and those who accompanied him for his defence: “Since in the condition that you are in, you have the impudence to speak to us as you have done, we must no longer doubt of the truth of the matters whereof you are accused: For if, even in a Council, you dare presume to play the tyrant with your judges, by treating them after so barbarous a manner; is it not plain that there is all the probability in the world, that you act with still greater violence and tyranny in Egypt, where you meet with nothing that is capable of resisting you.”

(p) The next day, when they were returned to the Council, S. Athanasius declared that he could not acknowledge those for judges, who were his enemies and parties concerned, and that he refused the Eusebians upon both these accounts; because they had declared themselves against him a great while, and for no other reason, but because he had always opposed the doctrine of Arius, which was condemned as heretical, by the Council of Nice. There arose a great noise at this protest, which they looked upon as a plain instance of rebellion against the Emperor, who had himself chosen those judges as persons of approved integrity, and entirely unexceptionable; and the Melitians, who accused him, adding that crime to the rest which they had devised, would certainly have procured him to be condemned by the judges, who only waited for a fair and specious pretence for passing sentence upon him with any appearance of justice: For which reason, to deprive his false judges of that advantage, he followed the advice of the Bishops that came with him, and resolved to answer even before that pretended Council; being of opinion with them, that the proofs of his own innocence, and his adversaries calumnies were so plain, that there was no judge, how wicked or unjust soever, who

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was fully convinced of it, could over look them in order to condemn him.

The first crime of which he was accused, presently shewed his innocence, by plainly discovering the horrible malice of his enemies, for which they were ready to die with shame. For they brought into the Council an impudent lewd woman, who cried out in a lamentable manner, (q) that Athanasius, whom she had received at her house as he came that way, with all the respect that was due to his character, had broke through all human and divine laws, by having violated her in her own house, in a most horrid and sacrilegious manner: That not being able to overcome her resolution by his infamous solicitations, he had satisfied his desires by force, having gotten into her chamber in the night-time, and forcibly robbed her of her virginity, which she had dedicated to God. Thereupon they ordered the Patriarch to answer; but having been before warned by his friends that they would lay that trap for him; and knowing besides, that the woman had never seen him, he let one of his Deacons answer, whom that impudent wretch took for him, protesting that it was that very man who had abused her, and demanding justice for such an abominable crime. Then Athanasius desired the judges, since the imposture had been discovered without contradiction, that the woman might be seized, in order to their being informed by her in a judicial way, who were the authors of the calumny. But they crying out in a tumultuous manner, that there were a great many other accusations against him, caused her immediately to withdraw; and in the mean time, commanded him to answer to the murder which he was accused of having committed upon the body of Arsenius the Bishop.

At the same time, they brought before him the man's hand (r) which they had made so much ado about in Egypt, and which they had preserved in salt and vinegar, to make use of upon this occasion. At the sight of this the judges exclaimed against him; some of them thinking that it was really Arsenius's hand, which Athanasius was accused of having made use of in certain magical operations: Others, who knew the truth of it, imagined that their imposture was still concealed as well as Arsenius, because they knew that he had escaped after his being taken; and in truth, he kept himself concealed for fear the Eusebians themselves should cause him to be murdered, in or-

(q) Theodor. l. 1. c. 30. Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. Socrat. l. 2. c. 21.
ed. *ibid.*

(r) The-

der to charge Athanasius with the guilt of it. The noise being over, the holy Bishops asked them calmly, whether they knew Arsenius; they answering, that several of them knew him; he desired them to order a man to be brought, who waited at the council door to give them an account of him. (s) Thereupon, whether it was that Arsenius came to shew himself of his own accord, in order to clear S. Athanasius; or, that the Saint, having caused him to be sought a second time, had brought him thither; (t) he appeared of a sudden in the midst of the assembly, wrapped in his robe, which the Patriarch having opened, turning towards his accusers, "Behold, says he, here are two hands, as other men have; if that which you shew us, is his hand, as you say, he must needs be a monster, who, contrary to the order of nature, has three hands." (u). The most violent of his accusers surprized at this accident, which they had not foreseen, were so much affrighted at it, that they fled. (x) S. Athanasius desired that an information might be laid against them, to know from whence they had that hand. The Eusebians, in despair, at seeing themselves convicted of an imposture by the unexpected appearance of Arsenius, had recourse to new artifices to cover their shame. (y) One part of them cried out, that the thing itself was a proof of the magick which he was accused of, and that he was an enchanter, who caused a spirit or a devil to appear in the place of Arsenius; and the other, somewhat more cunning as well as wicked, said, that there was reason to accuse him of that murder upon very good grounds; that Plutianus the Bishop, who was the instrument of the wickedness of Athanasius, had, by his orders, set fire to Arsenius's house; that having tied him to one of the pillars, he had scourged him after a very cruel manner, and had thrown him, being all over blood and covered with wounds, into a close prison, from whence he had escaped through a window, and had afterwards kept himself concealed so well, for fear of falling again into the hands of his cruel persecutor; that not having appeared for so long a time, notwithstanding the strict search that was made after him, there was good reason to believe, that he had died of the ill usage that he had received. (z)

They gave a gloss to this by several other violent proceedings, which they asserted the Patriarch to have been guilty of: For Euplius, Isaac, Achilles, Hermæon, and Pacomius, all Melitian Bishops, deposed

(s) Sozom. *ibid.*

(t) Socr. l. i. c. 21.

(u) Socr. l. i. c. 21.

(x) So-

zom. *ibid.*

(y) Theodor. *ibid.* Sozom. *ibid.*

(z) Sozom. l. 2. c. 24.

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against him; that having them in his power, he had caused them to be violently beaten; and they added, that Calinicus, Bishop of Pelusium, had received the like treatment, having been by his orders delivered into the hands of some soldiers after he had been inhumanly scourged. In short, the judges and the accusers understood one another so very well, that these said whatever those had a mind they should say; and so the judges believed whatever was alledged by the accusers.

But, after all, the accusation which they stuck most to, and which completed that unrighteous judgment, was the insult, which, they said, Macarius his Deacon offered, by his directions, to a certain Priest, whom he had caused to be falsely accused of not being in holy Orders; and the sacrilege, which, they said, he committed, by profaning an altar and a consecrated chalice. (a) The poor Deacon was brought into the Council loaded with chains; for the Eusebians had caused him to be seized at Constantinople, where he was sent by S. Athanasius to carry Constantine the proofs of Arsenius's being alive. The traitor Ischyra, whom the Patriarch thought himself secure of, because he had given, in writing, the confession of his villany, unexpectedly appeared to maintain what he had before asserted; adding withal, that he had been forced to disown it; for otherwise, he should have been certainly treated like many others, whom they had barbarously scourged, and even killed. That wicked wretch supported his false assertions with an extraordinary impudence, because the Eusebians had brought him over to them, by assuring him that he should have the Bishoprick, which Eusebius had promised him at Nicomedia. It was no difficult matter for S. Athanasius to convict this impostor; and to shew plainly that he had never been a Priest, because no true Bishop had ever ordained him, and his name was not to be found in the catalogue, which Melitius, after the Council of Nice, had been obliged to give the Patriarch of Alexandria, of all the Priests that had been ordained during his schism: (b) Besides, there were too many evidences against that pretended sacrilege, which had been so often confuted, that there was not the least probability of it. For it had been often attested, that there was neither Church, nor Priest, nor chalice, in the place where they pretended so great a crime was committed.

(a) Athan. Apol. 2.

(b) Epist. Syn. ap. Athan. Apol. 2.

But though they had nothing farther to alledge in vindication of it, yet they, nevertheless, made no scruple of crying out in the assembly, as if it had been a thing that was proved without dispute, that Ischy-
ras was a Priest, and that Athanasius was the author of an horrible
sacrilege. They rejected with disdain the Egyptian Bishops, who
offered to shew by authentick proofs, that it was meer calumny: And
if any of the judges, not so entirely void of conscience as the rest,
made a difficulty of giving judgment, or seemed to incline towards
the truth, which displayed itself so plainly, notwithstanding their ar-
tifices, who used all endeavours to suppress it, they immediately stop-
ped him by their own authority, or by force or threatnings; (c) and
Count Dionysius, who presided in that Council, as the instrument of
Eusebius's passion, decided every thing there by force, causing S. A-
thanasius and the Bishops of his party to withdraw, whenever they
were going to shew, by way of reply, the injustice and impostures of
their accusers.

But at length, it being necessary to observe something of form in
that judgment, to preserve, at least, the appearance of justice; and
since that wretch Ischyras could not prove his accusation, the Euse-
bians resolved amongst themselves to propose to the Council the send-
ing of commissioners to the place itself, which was in a little canton of
Egypt, called Mareotis, and in the diocese of Alexandria, in order
to be acquainted with the truth of things, and afterwards to judge
according to the true informations which they should receive. (d)
This was agreed to, and they put it off till another day, to de-
termine upon the choice of the commissioners: But the Eusebians, sus-
pecting some of the judges, who began to be undeceived, chose of their
own private authority, the greatest enemies of S. Athanasius, and the
most zealous protectors of Arianism, Theognis of Nice, Maris of
Chalcedon, Narcissus of Neronias, Theodore of Perinthus, Ursacius
and Valens, and others of the same stamp, whom they sent into
Egypt, notwithstanding the protests that were made against these
proceedings, by the Bishops who had accompanied S. Athanasius, with-
out regarding the petition which they presented to Count Dionysius
as well as Alexander of Thessalonica, who could not allow of such an
indignity. (e) Even the Count himself sufficiently perceived the in-
tolerable injustice of that proceeding, and advised his good friends

(c) Atian. Apol. 2. (d) Libel. Alexand. Thess. ad Dian. apud Athan.
Apol. 2. (e) Epist. Dion. apud Athanas. Apol.

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to take care lest it should prejudice them in the Emperor's opinion. But when he saw that Eusebius, whose slave he was become, continued fixed in his resolution, he was base enough to comply with him, though he did not approve of it.

(f) That which was most extraordinary in this matter was, that four days before they made this fine choice of commissioners, the Melitians having concerted the matter with the Eusebians, sent messengers into Egypt, to oblige their friends to go, in great numbers, as soon as possible, into Mareotis, where there were none of S. Athanasius's party, to the intent that being well instructed in all that they were to say, they might depose whatever they had a mind to against him. For which reason, that holy Patriarch seeing that there was nothing to be done in an assembly where every thing was managed by the direction of his enemies, who no longer observed any measures; (g) that they daily got people to come and cry out in full assembly, that they ought to rid the world of a man who was guilty of so many crimes; (h) and they having already fallen upon him to tear him in pieces, (i) as they certainly had done, if the Emperor's officers had not prevented them; he resolved at length to comply with his friends, and even those very officers, who were afraid they should not always be able to preserve him from violence. Having therefore suffered himself to be put into a Boat, he escaped by sea to a neighbouring town, from whence he went, at his own leisure, to Constantinople, to give an account to the Emperor of all that had passed at the Council.

(k) In the mean time, the Bishops who were appointed commissioners, carrying with them the accuser Ischyrras, and leaving Macarius in chains at Tyre, went into Mareotis with Philagrius the governor of Alexandria, who was one of their faction; where, after having contrived the informations as they thought fit, without taking any other evidence than that of the Arians, Melitians, and even of Pagans themselves, and Jews, whom they had suborned to depose whatever they would have them say, they returned speedily to Tyre, there to finish this extraordinary trial. (l) It was therefore at length concluded, with pronouncing sentence against S. Athanasius, by which he was declared guilty of the crimes of rebellion, sedition, and violent proceedings against Bishops; and also of murder, sacrilege, and magic;

(f) Lib. Episc. Ægypt. ap. Athanas. Apol. 2. (g) Sozom. *ibid.* (h) Theod. *ibid.* (i) Athanas. Apol. 2. (k) Syn. Alex. ap. Athanas. Apol. 2. Theod. *ibid.* (l) Sozom. l. 2. cap. 24.

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and for these reasons deposed from his Bishoprick, with a prohibition from ever coming again into Alexandria. All the Melitian Bishops and Priests were restored to their rank by the same sentence, and it was decreed, that the reasons for this should be sent to the Emperor, with the acts of the council, and that all Bishops in general should be written to, not to have any intercourse, for the future, with the deposed Patriarch. To recompense Ischyra for the calumny of his devising, which he carried to the height, they made him a Bishop, although he was not as yet a Priest; and for that purpose they were not ashamed of erecting, after a ridiculous manner, the village which he belonged to, in the Mareotis, into a (m) Bishoprick, though it was so small, that there was not so much as a (n) church in it, nor above seven communicants, who were forced to go to a neighbouring town for the celebration of the divine mysteries. What was still more surprising, was, that Arsenius having been brought over again by the Eusebians to their party, was admitted amongst them into the Council, and, with the rest of their factions, (o) subscribed to the condemnation of Athanasius, who was accused of having killed him.

To say the truth, one shall never meet with an example of such an horrible blindness: But when once a violent passion, especially that of hatred and desire of revenge, being joined with heresy, darkens the soul, there is no degree of extravagance or fury that may not be expected from it. For which reason, many of those, whom the Eusebians themselves were secure of at first, seeing the manifest injustice of that sentence, would never subscribe to it; (p) and it is reported; that Paphnutius taking one of the confessors by the hand, and looking upon those wicked wretches, who, in spite of the opposition of the honestest party, carried all things before them, said to him: "Let us go hence, brother; for it does not become us, who have lost each an eye for confessing JESUS CHRIST, to profane the other by seeing such horrid injustice; and make ourselves criminal, by being partakers in the Council, or rather in the crime of these enemies of God, who have neither honour, conscience, nor religion."

Whilst these things were transacting at Tyre, the Bishops received fresh orders, to repair to Jerusalem with all speed; (q) upon account.

(m) Athan. Apol. 2. (n) Libell. Epist. Cop. Egypt. *ibid.* (o) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 21. (p) Sozom. l. 2. cap. 24. (q) Euseb. lib. 4. de vit. Constant. c. 44. & seq. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 22. Sozom. l. 2. cap. 25. Theodor. l. 2. c. 31.

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of the solemnity of the dedication of the Temple lately built at the holy sepulchre. The Emperor had already assembled all the rest of the Eastern Bishops; so that these, together with those of Tyre, made one of the finest and most numerous assemblies that ever was, besides the vast multitude of persons of all conditions, which were come thither from all parts of the world to assist at so famous a ceremony. (r) Constantine, who ten years before had shewn so much magnificence at Nice, had a mind even to surpass himself upon this occasion, where his piety was distinguished by the effects of it, or rather by such an excess of magnificence, as became a Christian no less than an Emperor, and which could come from no body but one who was absolute Master of the world. He sent thither his chief officers, and especially his secretary Marianus, (s) to whom he gave in charge to provide for this festival, and to see that there was no want of any thing; for he not only loved him very much, and knew him to be very capable of performing this task, but he was, moreover, (t) very famous amongst the Christians, for his great knowledge in the holy Scripture, and for having gloriously confessed the Faith during the persecutions. He brought thither an immense quantity of treasure; (u) consisting of all manner of vessels of gold and silver, jewels, furniture, rich attire, and other sacred presents, in so great a number, as was sufficient to make a fine book, in the description, which Eusebius of Cæsarea presented some time after to Constantine. Besides, the Emperor caused the Bishops and their attendants to be treated every day in a magnificent manner; and although it had been a barren year, and that there was in Jerusalem and about it (x) a vast number of people, who came thither from all the provinces, there was nevertheless an extraordinary plenty of all sorts of provisions, which were distributed liberally to every body at the Prince's expence. He even gave money and cloaths to the poor, that nothing might appear but with decency, at a festival where every thing was intended as an honour to him.

All these orders being put in execution, they performed the consecration of the Temple, and the vessels, which were to be used in the sacred offices, which was done with all the pomp imaginable. The whole church was spread with the richest tapestry: The altar shone all over with gold and precious stones: (y) The sepulchre of JESUS CHRIST, by means of the stateliness of its ornaments, seemed

(r) Theodor. Euseb.
(s) Euseb.

(t) Sozom.

(u) Euseb.

(x) Sozom.

as glorious as if it had been his trophy of victory. During all the time that was spent in this famous solemnity, there was hardly an hour in a day, which the Bishops had not set apart for something extraordinary. Some preached, others explained the holy Scripture: In one place they held learned conferences upon point of Religion; in another, they spoke panegyrics upon the occasion of the festival, and in praise of the Emperor. The rest, whom God had not endued with these talents, employed themselves in offering unbloody sacrifices; and in † performing certain mystical consecrations for the prosperity of the Church, and the happiness of Constantine, and the Cæsars his children, as we are assured in these express terms, (*) by one of those who had the greatest share in this grand solemnity, to which he contributed both by his speeches and writings. In short, it might be said, that never any thing was more glorious to the Church, if the conclusion of all these rejoicings had not been very fatal to her, by the re-establishing of Arius and those of his principles, who took that opportunity of coming into the Church by surprise, and of persecuting her after a more dangerous and cruel manner, than they had ever yet done. We come now to shew what artifices they made use of to bring about such a wicked design, which was the cause of all the troubles that will be seen in the sequel of this history.

Ever since the Council of Nice, Constantine continued so firm in his resolution of inviolably preserving the Faith, that (α.) no body durst at any time, during his life, make an open attempt against it, for fear of incurring his displeasure, and entirely losing his good opinion. And as he seemed persuaded that Arius was a wicked man, who still held a doctrine that was condemned by the Council, although he had subscribed to it; no one, after he was driven from his presence, and banished with Euzoïus, durst speak to him in his favour: Even his sister Constantia, whom he always loved tenderly, and who then especially, since the death of the Empress S. Helena, had a great deal of power over him, was very reserved upon so tender a point, lest her faith should be suspected by her brother, and she should give him room to think that she was not very stedfast to the Creed of the

† The original from whence this is quoted is, "Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐμπνεύσας τῶν ἁγίων ἀγαγισμάτων ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀπορήτους ἀποκαλύψεις θεορίας· οἱ δὲ μὴ διὰ τῶν χωρῶν οἱ τοι τε, θεοταῖς δαίμοναῖς καὶ μουσικαῖς ἱερουργαῖς τὸ θεῶν ἰδεῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήνης, &c. Euseb. vit. Const. l. 4. (*) Euseb. *ibid.* (γ.) Nicæph. lib. 19. cap. 2.

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Nicene Council. Besides, it was not probable that so pious a Princess would ever separate herself from the Church by so criminal an apostasy; though it was not to be denied, but that before the determinations at Nice, she had entertained Arius's opinions, because she had been persuaded that they were agreeable to the doctrine of the Church. All that she could do, was to pacify the mind of Constantine, in favour of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and to prevail with him at length to recall him, upon the assurances that she gave him, that the Prelate, as well as herself, would always inviolably observe, even unto death, the Creed of the holy Council. Even Eusebius himself, who earnestly desired to have his friend Arius restored, and had formed a design for it, durst not venture to speak to that Princess about it, for fear of making himself suspected, or lest his recommendation should not be sufficient, as coming from one whose interest it was to protect his creature. It was also dangerous to let it be seen that he was the only person that had a good opinion of him, and would say any thing to his advantage. But that which he durst not attempt himself, he found means to do more skilfully by another, whom he employed, and who afterwards did more mischief by his artifices, than Arius could do by his books and discourses.

(a) This man was a certain Priest, who was tainted with Arianism, and retained all the venom of it in his heart, but was cautious of letting it appear outwardly, at a time so little favourable to heresy; on the contrary, he was very careful to conceal it, under the specious appearance of an extraordinary piety: For he was the greatest cheat in devotion, and the most dangerous hypocrite that ever was; and one, who always acted in concert with Eusebius, with whom he had a very strict friendship and secret confidence. To bring their designs about, Eusebius had found means to get him into Constantia's house, to whom he had often spoke of him, as one who was a peculiar servant of God; who had very great gifts; and who, above all, had an extraordinary light in conducting souls to the height of perfection, by making them have very sublime sentiments of God, whom he discoursed of after a better manner than ever any body had done. That Princess, who was a widow, and inclined to devotion, and who, to distinguish herself from the rest of the world, affected a refined sort of piety, very willingly gave ear to this Priest, who, by his devout and

(a) Theodor. lib. 2. cap. 3. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 19. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 26. Niceph. lib. 1. cap. 47.

insinuating air, and his seemingly disinterested way, and by the fine things which he said when he spoke of the divine perfections, knew so well how to approve himself to her, that he at length gained an ascendant over her, and inclined her to which side soever he pleased. After having entertained her with nothing for a great while, but the secrets of the most sublime devotion, he ordered it so one day, that the discourse insensibly fell upon persons more than ordinarily favoured by God, and who had been greatly enlightened by him; and he so nicely contrived it, that, without the least appearance of design, the discourse naturally turned upon Arius. Then, as if that name had come from him unawares, he gave a great sigh; and the Princess having asked him the reason of it, “ he began to bewail the condition of one of the best men upon earth, who was “ unhappy only because he was the most able man of his age, and “ was the most enlightened in the knowledge of God.” He told her, “ That the Patriarch Alexander, not being able to endure a “ sun that cast a shade over him, had caused it to be eclipsed in “ Alexandria, by his violent proceedings and black calumnies: That “ he was condemned in the Council for a doctrine which he was very “ far from holding, and which his enemies falsely laid to his charge, “ not being able to effect his ruin but by such base impostures: “ That so far from holding that which was imputed to him, and “ which he himself willingly condemned next after the holy Council, “ no one ever had such fine sentiments of divine matters, nor had “ reasoned so divinely upon the incomprehensible nature of God, “ and upon the infinite excellency of his Word, and his Son: That “ nevertheless so extraordinary a man being oppressed by the calumnies of those who envied him, was banished from the society “ of men, as an enemy to God; and led the most miserable life that “ could be, driven both from his country and his church.

Constantia, who as it is usual with devotees, that have put confidence in their spiritual guides, thought her Priest infallible, and that whatever he said was an oracle, did not in the least doubt of the truth of what he related concerning Arius, and, without difficulty, restored him to that degree of her esteem and friendship, which he possessed before his condemnation, when he was recommended to her by Eusebius. But notwithstanding all that this her guide could say to her, (b) she could never be induced to speak to the Emperor her

(b) Sozom. Socrat. *ibid.*

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brother in behalf of Arius; for she knew very well that he was immovable in respect of the Decrees of the Council of Nice; and that, besides, (c) he made no doubt but that the doctrine which was still held by Arius, was the same that the holy Council had condemned. She therefore said nothing of all this whilst she was in health; but when she found herself sick, and at the last extremity; and that Constantine, who visited her very often, during her sickness, gave her daily marks of his tenderness; she resolved at length to open her mind to him: And seeing him one day by her bed-side, very much afflicted to find she drew near her end, taking him by the hand, she said to him, with a faint voice; "That having been so good as to bestow many favours on her during her life, she desired yet one more at her death, which she had more at heart than all the rest. And this was, that, as the last testimony of the most ardent friendship that ever sister had for her brother, he would receive from her a present, which she knew, for certain, would be of very great use to him. For, Sir," *says she to him with all the force she had left*, "that which is usually wanting to great Princes, much more than their subjects, is a good and faithful friend, who will serve them disinterestedly, especially in what concerns the good of their soul, and their eternal welfare. (d) Here is a man" (*added she presenting to him her Priest; to whom she had made a sign to draw near*, "Here is a man that has all the good qualities that can be desired for that purpose; his faith is pure, his prudence extraordinary, and his fidelity irrefragable; and as he has wonderful notions of God, so he has the art of inspiring them into others. The long experience which I have had of it, is an assurance to me; and from thence I can also assure you of the value of what I leave you. I entreat you to receive him at my hands, and to love and confide in him for my sake: Besides, having now no more share in life, I can be under no apprehensions upon my own account; but since I love you, as I really do more than myself, I must own to you, that I am yet apprehensive of some judgment of God falling upon you, for suffering yourself to be deceived by those, who have made you unjustly persecute several good men from the Clergy, great servers of God, whom you have banished." (e) These were the last words which she spoke to her brother, for soon after she expired.

(c) Niceph. *ibid.*

(d) Theodor. l. i. cap. 3.

(e) Socr. Niceph.

The Emperor, who had a tender love for his sister, was extremely concerned at her death, and at what she had said to him as she was dying; and as he had promised to have a regard to that Priest for her sake, this man knew so well how to insinuate himself into his mind, that he easily got the place in it which was possessed by him in that of Constantia; so that he not only had a share in his favour, but his confidence also. Therefore, as that Prince, who was delighted with his company, often conversed with him; there were some times, during their conversation, wherein he never failed to speak to him of his sister, whose memory he very much valued. One day when they were upon that topick, he pressed him to tell him what was his opinion of those Ecclesiasticks, whom she had spoken to him about, mentioning the apprehension she was under, lest the banishing of them should draw the judgment of God both upon his Empire and his person; then that deceiver, making use of so good an opportunity, and having recourse to all the artifices that might gloss over a lye to make it more probable, told him in favour of Arius and Euzoïus, all that he had so often said to Constantia: To which, in order to convince him entirely, he added, that there was nothing more easy, if his majesty desired it, than to inform himself fully of the truth, without having the least reason to doubt of it for the future. "For, Sir, (says he) you need only, to this purpose, let him be brought into your presence, and ask him if he does not receive the determinations of the holy Council, and adhere to the Creed which is thereby confirmed. His answer will decide the matter; (f) and it will be seen whether he does not immediately confound his enemies, by maintaining, to their face, that they have borne down his innocence by their calumnies, and that he never had any other belief since the Council.

(g) Constantine was extremely surprized at this proposal, because being very desirous to have all Christians united in the same Faith, he had condescended to write to Arius more than once, to exhort him to return and submit to the Council: But being afraid, lest the apprehensions that he was under from his adversaries should have hindered him from returning, he promised this Priest, that if what he said of Arius, upon examination, proved to be true, and that he did really receive the Faith of the Council, he would not only put an end to

(f) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 19. Niceph. l. 8. cap. 47. (g) Socr. *ibid.*

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his banishment, but send him back with honour to Alexandria, there to exercise his functions. (b) Whereupon he wrote to him once more, ordering him to come to him with all speed: To which, having been secretly informed of all matters, he obeyed very willingly, being assured of the success of his business.

(*) Accordingly he presented himself before the Emperor, with his faithful and inseparable friend Euzoïus, who received them very graciously, and forthwith asked them, if they received the Faith of the Council of Nice. And they having answered boldly, and without hesitating, that they did receive it, and always had done so; (z) the Prince, to be more fully assured of it, commanded them to give him their Confession of Faith in writing: Which command they obeyed; and after they had concerted the matter amongst themselves, Arius, for himself and in the name of all his disciples, presented him a form of Faith, in which he avoided all those novel expressions which he had before made use of, and which plainly discovered his blasphemies; and (k) took a great deal of care to have no other terms in it, but such as were taken from holy Scripture, and in their natural and literal sense expressed the Catholick doctrine, but in their figurative sense, which was his own, might be attributed to a creature, as he would have the Word believed to be.

"In this writing therefore he said, "We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in our Lord JESUS CHRIST the Son of God, begotten of him before all ages, God, and Word; by whom all things were made, both in Heaven and Earth; who descended, was incarnate, suffered, rose again, and ascended into Heaven, and who will return to judge the quick and the dead." He made no mention, in this form, of what he had said before, and had caused so much noise, and such disorders in the world, namely, "That God, by his own Will, had created the Word, and had made him out of nothing: That that Word had had a beginning, before which he was not: That of his own nature he was subject to change; and that he was not equal to his Father, nor like to him in his perfections, which were infinitely less." All these blasphemies, which had made his doctrine so odious, were suppressed in this form, wherein he said nothing but what was very orthodox. But, at the same time, he did not

(b) Socr. Niceph. *ibid.* (*) Tillémont says, the time of Arius's return is uncertain, but that it probably happened about the year 331. (i) Socr. (k) Socr. 302000.

make use of the term *Consubstantial*, which comprehends all that should be said of the Son of God, and takes away all manner of equivocation; and when he said, *that he was begotten*, he was very careful of adding the words, *not made*, by which means he still reserved to himself the liberty of maintaining his heresy, by making those words, which he made use of, applicable to creatures. It is said, for instance, in several places of Scripture, that good men are begotten of God, and also that they are Gods; which is true only in a metaphorical and figurative sense, according to which he understood those words when he spoke of the Word in his Confession of Faith. (l) To this he added a petition, by which he humbly intreated the Emperor, "That since it had plainly appeared by their writing which they had delivered, that they were very zealous for the Faith, and held no other doctrine but that of the Church and Scripture, he would be so good as to put an end to the prosecution that was carried on against them, by sophistical quirks, and false subtleties; and prohibiting all those dangerous disputes which only served to disturb the peace of the Church, cause them to be received again into the bosom of the Church; that being all united together by the bonds of charity, they might in peace and quietness, offer their prayers to God for the prosperity of himself and Empire.

(m) Constantine having read this Profession of Faith, was very well satisfied with it, and expressed his joy upon that account, believing it to be entirely agreeable to that of the Nicene Fathers, perceiving none of those propositions in it, that were injurious to the Son of God, and which the Council had condemned. But as it related to a matter of Faith, which he would not take upon himself to determine, and that he did not depend upon his own judgment in so nice a point, wherein he might easily be mistaken, he sent Arius and Euzoïus to Jerusalem, writing to the Bishops, who were there assembled for the dedication of the temple, to (n) examine that profession of Faith which would be presented to them by the Ecclesiasticks, and restore them by a Canonical sentence, if they found their doctrine to be sound and orthodox; and that they had been invidiously ensnared, or even though they had been justly condemned for their heretical opinions, if they would sincerely retract and renounce their errors.

Arius and Euzoïus could not have received that order at a more favourable juncture: (For when they arrived at Jerusalem, they found

(l) Socrat. *ib.* Niceph.

(m) Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 26.

(n) Sozom. *ib.*

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the Eusebian Party the strongest; the greatest part of the other Bishops having retired to their Bishopricks, as soon as the ceremony of the dedication was over; so that those who came to condemn S. Athanasius in the Council at Tyre, (o) found themselves in a condition to form another at Jerusalem for the restoring of the Arians. Being therefore assembled to consider Constantine's letter, and the writing which Arius presented them, they made no difficulty of declaring that he had been wrongfully condemned, and that his doctrine was entirely pure and orthodox. They received him afterwards to communion with them, and wrote a Synodical letter to the Church of Alexandria, and to those of Egypt, Thebais, Lybia and Pentapolis, and to all Bishops, to inform them, that they had confirmed the sentence which Constantine had pronounced, relating to Arius's innocence; that it was the malice of his enemies that had separated him so long from the Church, and that they should receive him and his disciples to communion with them, (p) because their profession of Faith which had been presented to the Emperor and the Synod, was perfectly agreeable to the doctrine, which was left us by the Apostles.

Whilst the Eusebians went on thus at Jerusalem, S. Athanasius, who had escaped from Tyre during their assembly there, having come to Constantinople, used his utmost endeavour to obtain audience of the Emperor, in order to inform him of the violent and tyrannical Proceedings that were carried on against him in the tryal that was held by them: But those of Eusebius's party, more especially Constantia's Priest, who was always about Constantine's person, still found new ways to hinder the Patriarch from coming to the palace; so that he was at length forced to have recourse to a very extraordinary means of obtaining it. For as Constantine was coming into the city one day on horseback, in the midst of his guards, the holy Bishop breaking through the crowd, and passing by the Soldiers, presented himself before him, (q) and with a loud voice demanded justice, for the greatest violence that could be offered to a person of his character and dignity. The Emperor, surprized at this action, did not know him at first; but when they had told him who he was, and having soon recover'd himself, being prepossessed by the artifices of the

(o) Athan. Ap. 2. de Concil. Hierosol.
Athan. de Syr. Socr. *ibid.* Sozom.

(p) Epist. Synod. Hierosol. apud
(q) Epist. Constant. apud Athan. Apol. 2.

Eusebians,

Eusebians, with the false opinion of his disturbing the peace of the Church, he would have passed by, without condescending so much as to hear him; nay finding himself importuned by the humble intreaties which he made, that he might be heard for a moment, he had made a sign to his guards to take him away, when the good man assuming an air somewhat above that of a suppliant, preserving nevertheless the respect that was due to Cæsar, told him very freely, (*) "That being a Prince and a Christian, he could not refuse him that justice, and liberty of complaining for it, which he owed to all the world; and that all the favour which he desired of him, was to be allowed to make his complaint before his adversaries, who had been injuring his innocence, by such Methods as were destructive of all justice both human and divine."

The respectful liberty; which a good man takes, always has a good effect upon a Prince, who having a mind as great as his fortune, which raises him above others, always gladly submits to reason, as soon as he perceives it. Constantine therefore, at this time, yielded to it in Athanasius; and it procured him the audience which he had hitherto in vain attempted; and that Prince being informed in private by the holy Bishop, of (r) the violent and unjust proceedings of his enemies, he ordered them by his letters to hasten to Constantinople, to give an account of their sentence, (s) before the very person whom they had condemned; assuring them moreover, "That he was resolved to have the decrees of the holy Council inviolably observed, and to extirpate the secret enemies of the Church, who under the appearance of sanctity concealed the errors and blasphemies which they maintained." (t) These words astonished the Bishops, who had been of Eusebius's party; but he, who never was at a loss, soon recovered them, by telling them that he had taken such care of all matters, that without their going that journey, which he would undertake for them with five or six of his friends, they should have the pleasure of seeing, far out of danger, that this last stroke which he was just going to strike should not miss its aim. He had indeed foreseen that the Patriarch having withdrawn himself from Tyre, might go and make his com-

(*) See Tillæmont, Tom. VIII. P. 1. § 28.
l. 1. cap. 22.

(r) Athan. Apol. 2.

(s) Socr.

(t) Socr. c. 23.

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They arrived there at a time when they were celebrating, with all manner of rejoysings, the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign : And it being the custom to make a panegyrick upon the Emperor on that occasion, (x) Eusebius of Casarea, who was become very famous for his eloquence, and had had that honour ten years before at Nice, in the presence of the whole Council, came then very opportunely to have the honour of speaking another in the imperial palace, before the finest assembly in the world. He performed it perfectly well, and so artfully extolled the Prince, by the ingenious description which he gave of the King of Heaven, that divine original of which he was so true a copy upon earth, that he pleased Constantine extremely, who was naturally fond of glory, (y) and who could not refrain from publicly expressing the great pleasure which it was to him : So that his mind being prepared by this harangue to give a favourable reception to whatever should come from a man who had made himself so agreeable to him, it was no difficult matter, at so favourable a juncture, to bring about what they had been contriving against the Patriarch.

The day being therefore come, when that matter was to be examined, S. Athanasius made his appearance both before Constantine, and the Bishops, who were come to justify the sentence which they had pronounced against him. When he had made his complaint, one of them, whom they had appointed to answer it, said to the Emperor, "The condemned Bishop was so far from having reason to complain of them, that he was obliged to them for having been favourable to him, they having contented themselves with making out what was

(*) Athanas. Apol. 2.
Const. l. 4. c. 46.

(*) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 23.
(y) Ibid.

(x) Euseb. de p.

" alleged

“alleged against him, without proceeding to examine into another crime, which deserved a much greater punishment: For to shew your Majesty,” says he, “that he is capable of committing those lesser crimes, of which we have found him guilty, upon very strong proofs; we are ready to convict him immediately, by undeniable witnesses, of having formed a design of disturbing the state, and starving Constantine, (2) by stopping at Alexandria the vessels which were to transport the corn out of Egypt.

This was touching Constantine in the most tender part: For having just finished Constantinople, which was his own work, and the most famous monument of his glory, and peopled it by vast multitudes, whom he had brought thither from the cities which he had conquered; there was nothing which he had so much at heart, as (a) to make it abound with plenty of every thing, and transport corn thither out of Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, and more especially from Egypt, without which, it was impossible that it should be supported; or that disorders and sedition should not rage there as well as famine. For which reason, Constantine was inexorable in that particular, and punished with the greatest severity, and without mercy, all that were but suspected, with the least probability, of having hindered such vessels as were loaded with corn, from coming to Constantinople, (b) as appeared a little before by the unhappy fate of Sopater the most famous Philosopher of his time. He was in so great favour with the Emperor, that he set him on his right hand at the publick shews; and he received so many favours from him, as to cause a jealousy in Ablavius, one of the ministers that were most in power. And yet the vessels from Alexandria being retarded, which began to cause a famine in the city; and the people in the open Theatre having cried out, that it was the ungrateful Sopater, who, by his magical art, stopped the south wind, without which the vessels from Egypt could not get up to Constantinople; he caused his head to be immediately struck off, although the poor Philosopher was, in all appearance, innocent of the crime of which they accused him: upon very slender conjectures.

(c) Having therefore heard that Athanasius had boasted that he could hinder, whenever he pleased, the transportation of corn to the Imperial city, which he had threatened to do, and not only so, (d) but

(2) Athanas. Apol. Secr. lib. 1, cap. 23. Theodor. l. 1, cap. 30. Epist. Conc. Alexandr. apud Athanas. Apol. 2.

(a) Eunap. in vit. Phil.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Epist. Syn. Alexandr. Athanas. Secr. Theodor. (d) Epist. Syn. Alex.

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had actually stopped some vessels in the port of Alexandria; he would immediately know the truth of that matter which so much (e) concerned him, without troubling himself any farther with the other particulars, which affected him very little in comparison of this, which was the main point. Upon which the accusers called in the five Bishops that had deserted Athanasius, whom they had kept in readiness; these were Adamantius, Ambion, Agathammon, Peter, and Arbetion. S. Athanasius was surprized at seeing them; but, after all, had nothing to reproach them with. They were all in communion with him, and were his friends and defenders, whom he himself had brought to Tyre, where they had served him very faithfully; so that he had no room for refusing them. Being confronted with him before the Emperor, they said, that indeed as to the other crimes which he had been accused of at Tyre, they thought him innocent, but for this they were obliged to own, in discharge of their conscience, that he was guilty; and they alledged to his face, that they had heard him threaten to hinder the vessels, loaden with corn, from going to Constantinople.

To say the truth, all the appearances were against S. Athanasius; the accusation was coloured over; the presumptions were strong, and every thing seemed to conspire against him. He had a power in Alexandria; they knew that he might be very well exasperated by the Emperor's proceedings, who had used him ill sufficiently several times, and it was not improbable but that he might have some desire of revenge. The accusers were Bishops, whom Constantine esteemed: Those who deposed against him were also Bishops of Egypt, approved good men, worthy of credit, and some of his best friends, who had hitherto acted in his favour with all possible resolution and fidelity. Besides, he had the misfortune to have Constantine already very much prepossessed with the opinion, which they had long since persuaded him into, (f) that Athanasius was of a turbulent spirit, fierce, imperious, arrogant, revengeful, and incapable of being quiet. It also happened that the answer which he at first made to this accusation, gave room for his adversaries to strengthen it. For when he found himself attacked by so horrible a calumny, (g) giving a great sigh, he cried out, that it destroyed itself, and that it was impossible that a single man, and one so poor as he, durst undertake such a difficult matter, to the disservice of the Emperor. Then Eusebius of Nicomedia, who being the author of the villany seemed the least concerned, the better to

(e) Athanas. Ap. 2.

(f) Sozom. l. 2. cap. 29.

(g) Epist. Syn. Alex.
disguis

disguise his malice, said coolly to Constantine, That for the truth of that crime, his Majesty was to judge of it, according to the proofs that should be brought; but as for what Athanasius had said, in relation to his poverty and the little interest that he had, in order to make his accusation the more unlikely, he was ready to make oath that it was a mere illusion; that, on the contrary, he was very rich, and had a great deal more power over the people of Alexandria, who were very seditious and entirely at his devotion, than was requisite for the undertaking a matter of much greater difficulty. In short, this was a very nice point and very displeasing to the Emperor, who, besides, in some particulars, was very hasty and susceptible of ill impressions, which his passion made him liable to receive. (b) In effect, he flew into such a passion at these appearances, which deceived him, that he was no longer master of himself; and without hearing any farther what the Patriarch had to say in his justification, he had him immediately taken out of his presence, as one fully convicted of a crime that was worthy of death; so that his adversaries, who desired nothing so much, and had even demanded it, thought that they were undoubtedly gone to dispatch him.

But the Providence of God, which watched over the generous defender of his Son for preservation, was more powerful than the venomous malice of these wicked men, (i) and in a moment appeased the mind of this Prince, whom they had exasperated against him. For being soon recovered out of that first transport of his passion, he thought better on the affair, and resolved at length to change the punishment of death, which was due to such a crime, into that of banishment. Nay, some thought that Constantine's policy had a greater share in his being banished, than Athanasius's pretended crime; (k) and that though he was not entirely persuaded, he nevertheless thought it requisite to sacrifice him to the Church's peace, and the publick quiet, which could never be enjoyed in Alexandria as long as he was there, because he would never admit those to communion with him, whom the Bishops had just received as very good Catholics, who followed the Faith of the Council of Nice. There are others also who have thought, that one of the particulars which contributed most to his removal, rather than banishment, was the concern which Constantine, notwithstanding his anger, had for his preservation, and the apprehension that he was under, lest his enemies, (l) who were so cruelly

(b) Athanas. Apol. 2. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 23.
Athanas. Apol. 2.

(k) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 23.

(i) Epist. Syn. Alex. apud Athanas.

(l) Athanas. Epist. ad solit.

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bent against him, should at length procure his destruction. The holy Bishop himself, who was desirous of putting the best interpretation upon his Prince's actions, even when he was ill treated by him, was inclined to this opinion. (m) Besides that Constantine the younger, and his brother Constans, who thought they knew their Father's mind in this particular, reported it thus after his death. Be it as it will, since the actions of Princes are usually mysteries, which all the world do not see into, if we are not always obliged to commend them by extolling indifferently whatever they do, we ought not likewise to assume that malicious liberty of blaming them, when their faults are not so apparent of themselves, as no longer to admit of an excuse.

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In fine, by what motive soever Constantine was influenced upon this occasion, he sent S. Athanasius into Gaul to Treves, which was then the chief city of it, where Constantine the younger kept his Court, and (n) where he was received by that Prince very graciously, he taking great care to have him plentifully supplied with whatever was necessary for the entertainment of a person of his merit and quality. (o) S. Athanasius very respectfully obeyed this order of the Emperor; and since he does not mention (p) his having threatened him, as they say he did, with the judgment of God; nor his having reproached him, as they pretend, with his injustice; and that this does not well agree with what he has said in his excuse, I shall by no means give it a place in History, which admits of nothing that has so plain an air of falshood, whosoever may be the author of it.

As Constantine still retained his intention of restoring the peace of the Church, especially in Egypt, where the disorders had begun; (q) he, at the same time, also banished those Bishops, and some Priests, who were most busy in defending S. Athanasius, (r) though he would not allow of any other Bishop's being put in his place. And being informed that John, the chief of the Melitians, had also a party in Alexandria opposite to that of the Patriarch, (s) he banished him amongst the rest, to remove all the causes of the division, although the Council of Tyre had admitted him to communion with them, as one that was orthodox; and that the Eusebians used their utmost endeavours to keep him there.

(m) Apud Athanas. *ibid.* & Apol. 2. Socr. lib. 2. cap. 2. (n) Athanas. *cap.*
Socr. Sozom. (o) Sozom. l. 2. cap. 27. (p) Epiph. Hæres. 68. (q) Epiph.
Syn. Alex. apud Athanas. Apol. 2. (r) Athan. Epist. ad Solim. (s) Sozom.
l. 2. cap. 29.

(1) As soon as the news of S. Athanasius's banishment came to Alexandria, there was a general consternation amongst the Catholics, who, without comparison, made the greatest part of that very populous city. The people ran along the streets in a lamentable manner, crying out for their good Pastor, who was taken from them, and they left to the fury of the wolves. They went in crowds to all the churches, prostrating themselves before the altars, to implore the mercy of God by continual groans, begging of him the return of their holy Bishop. The Clergy offered up publick prayers for it; the Virgins, who were dedicated to God, begged to have him restored to them as their protector, the poor as their father. Every place resounded with the name of Athanasius; even the solitudes of Thebais were disturbed with it; and the great Anthony wrote to Constantine more than once upon that subject, beseeching him not to suffer so great a Saint to be oppressed by the calumnies of hereticks, who had pursued his destruction, in order, afterwards, to destroy Religion. But the Emperor, still immovable in his first resolution, wrote in a severe manner to the people of Alexandria, telling them they were seditious as well as their Patriarch, whom a whole Council had condemned; and as he had punished him, he knew also how to chastise them, if they continued to disturb the peace which he had just procured them, by removing the cause of their disorders. As for S. Anthony, he gave him a more civil answer; for he wrote him word back, that he ought not to be surprized at his having followed the opinion of an holy assembly of so many Bishops, who had condemned Athanasius; and that it was not to be presumed that they could be deceived, when their proceedings were unanimous: That the solitary life which he led, did not admit of his being well acquainted with the person in whose favour he had written; and that being so great a lover of the peace of the Church as he was, he ought not to use his endeavours for one who had disturbed it, as he would find when he had informed himself a little better.

Without doubt there is room to believe that Constantine had very good intentions; but, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that he suffered himself to be deceived by the great desire which he had of peace, and by the artifices of those who persuaded him, that the true way to it, was to get rid of Athanasius, who, in reality, would make no union with them, because, notwithstanding that they

(1) Sozom. *ibid.*

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made declarations of their submission to the determinations of the Council, it was but too evident that they still entertained contrary sentiments, and held all the errors which they themselves had condemned. But after all, the pretended peace which they aimed at by driving away so great a man, had not all the success that they imagined: For it was the means of the restoring, and even of the triumphing of Arianism, which had now no longer that invincible obstacle in its way, which it met with in S. Athanasius; nor did it procure to Constantine all the quietness which he expected from it. In truth, Arius having returned to Egypt with the Synodical letters of the Council of Jerusalem, (u) and entered again as it were in triumph into Alexandria with his disciples, after the holy Patriarch was banished, he soon caused greater disorders there, than those which he had been the author of in the beginning of the heresy: For, on the one hand, when they saw that S. Athanasius was no longer amongst them; and, on the other, that Arius, whom all the Catholics had in abhorrence, ever since their Patriarch Alexander had driven him thence, upon account of his blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST, was still the same, and that he had not changed his sentiments, though he had expressed himself after a different manner; and that he laboured with all his might to restore his heresy again; (x) then all the orthodox Clergy openly refused to let him come into the Church; and the people of that great city being resolved to perish, or preserve their Religion, rose against him with so much violence and clamour, that the Emperor, who began to be apprehensive of his having been deceived, and of all Egypt's being again in an uproar, was forced to recall him to Constantinople, where the justice of God waited to punish him for all his crimes. (y) Even the Eusebians themselves cunningly persuaded him to come, because they had a secret intention of causing him to be received at Constantinople, in the presence of Constantine, as a Catholic; after which, they thought, the Church of Alexandria would no longer dare to refuse him. He arrived there whilst they were holding, by Eusebius's contrivance, a sort of Synod, consisting chiefly of the Bishops of his faction, to rid themselves of one of the greatest of their enemies next to S. Athanasius.*

(u) Athan. de Syn.
thzn. Epist. ad Serap.
man's Sermon IV. p. 201.

(x) Socr. lib. 1. cap. 25. Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 28.

(y) See Tillemont, T. VII. P. II. p. 880. Eccl. and Dr. Barrow

This was Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, whom the Eusebians found ever in their way, still inflexible, and always an implacable enemy to their faction. (2.) He had appeared amongst those who most zealously attacked Arianism, and maintained the Consubstantiality of the Word in the Council of Nice. He had always opposed that wicked and impious wretch Asterius, who from a (*) Sophist having become a Christian, and from a Christian an Apostate during the persecution, had at length thrown himself into the party of the Arians and Eusebians, in hopes of procuring a Bishoprick by their means; and went about every where publishing the books that he had composed, which were full of the blasphemies of Arius. In short, Marcellus had been so far from keeping measures with those people, (a) that after having all along opposed them in their Council of Tyre, where he sat, he would not, out of an immoderate zeal, so much as assist at the ceremonies of the dedication of the Church at Jerusalem, for fear of communicating with them. They therefore made use of that particular to exasperate the Emperor against him, as if he had done it out of disrespect to his commands, and on purpose to offend him. After which, (b) Eusebius and his agents, in that Synod of Constantinople, having caused him to be falsely accused of having written a book in defence of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, who asserts that JESUS CHRIST is a mere man; they deposed him from his Bishoprick, had him banished, and put Basil in his place, who was entirely in the interest of Eusebius. Thus Constantine, being deceived by the Eusebians under the disguise of Catholics, innocently made the true zeal, which he had for the Nicene Faith, subservient to the malice and passion of those who endeavoured to ruin it, by destroying all the defenders of it. Such is the wretched condition of the greatest Princes, whose very goodness sometimes becomes mischievous, through the evils which hypocrites, that abuse it, could not bring about otherwise.

Arius arriving in the mean while, was immediately laid hold of by his patron Eusebius, who instructed him how he was to behave himself with the Emperor, who suspected him of not sincerely holding

(2.) Epist. Jul. apud Athan. Apol. 2. Athan. de Syn. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 24.

(*) In those times, Sophists were such as made profession of every thing; particularly they discoursed upon and taught a sort of Philosophy, joined with polite learning and eloquence. Athanas. Or. 4. p. 455.

(a) Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 34. (b) A-

than. Ep. ad Solit.

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the doctrine of Nice, and of having deceived him in the Confession of Faith which he delivered to him, where the term *Consubstantial* was not inserted. In short, he gave him to understand, (c) "That he must not stick at it; that Constantine was immovable in respect to the perfect purity of the Nicene Faith: That they must go through with their deceit and dissimulation, and boldly sign the form of the Council, even with that word in it, reserving to themselves the explanation of it till another opportunity, or to find out immediately some equivocation, which might give room for their disowning it with honour afterwards."

(d) Arius being thus instructed in what he was to do, after having taken his measures, went and presented himself before the Emperor, who had sent for him to his palace. (e) There he immediately asked him, why he had made so much noise in Alexandria, and why they had refused to admit him to communion with the Catholics by so general a consent of the Clergy and people? To this he added, that the Confession of Faith which he had delivered to him, must of necessity not have been sincere; and that he still held the wicked doctrine for which he had formerly been driven out of Alexandria: That he desired to know of him ingenuously, what his belief was? And that he would have him declare immediately, without any shifts or evasions, whether or no he held the Nicene Faith? He having boldly answered with a smiling countenance, and without hesitating, that he did hold it with all his heart, (f) and at the same time presented him with the same equivocal form, that he had delivered to him when he was recalled from exile: "This is not sufficient, *reply'd the Emperor*: That I may be assured of the sincerity of your faith, I will have you immediately sign, in my presence, the Decrees and the Creed of the Council, without any alteration." (g) Arius immediately obeyed, and with joy signed the form of the Council: And Constantine was surprized at seeing him act so fairly and openly; but, that nothing might be wanting that might make him still more sure in so important a matter, he obliged him to (h) swear that he subscribed sincerely, and that this was his belief, without any disguise, restriction, or mental reservation, and the faith in which he would die. At the same time he advised him to be very careful of what he

(c) Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 30. (d) Socr. l. 1. cap. 25. (e) *Ibid.* (f) Arian. Or. 1. contra Ar. (g) Socr. (h) Athan. *ibid.*

was about, since it was God himself whom he took for witness of what he affirmed to him; and that if it was a falshood, he would not fail to revenge the affront which he offered him, in prophaning his awful Name by so abominable a perjury.

But Arius, who had foreseen that he must come to this, had taken precautions against that oath, by an artifice, which made his perjury still more worthy of punishment, namely, by sacrilegiously making a mock both of God and the Emperor. (i) For it is said, that that deceiver, when he went to the palace, had hid in his bosom a form of Faith, which he had signed, containing his impious doctrine; and that thereupon he swore that he believed it most sincerely and honestly, without diminishing in the least what he had signed. Upon which Constantine said to him, in a solemn manner, (k) "If your belief is pure and catholick, as you say and have sworn, your oath is very just and good; but if it is impious, and contrary to the faith of the Council you have signed, and you have notwithstanding sworn to it, as you have done, to make us believe that you do hold it; I beseech God, who is the avenger of crimes, to condemn you, and to punish you as one that is guilty of perjury." After which, he sent him back to the Bishops, to cause him to be admitted to the communion of the Church in Constantinople.

Alexander, who devoted himself much to the service of God, was Bishop there at that time; and as he was thoroughly persuaded of the impiety of Arius, and the treachery of the Eusebians, he had always openly declared himself against them, ever since Alexander Bishop of Alexandria had by his letters informed him of their wickedness, in the beginning of that heresy. This holy man, plainly perceiving the design of Eusebius, had done all that was in his power to prevent the holding that assembly which was held by them in Constantinople; (l) but not being able to do it, the intrigues of Eusebius having prevailed over his good purposes, and over all the endeavours that he used to bring them about, (m) he protested however, with an invincible resolution, that he would never admit Arius to communion with him, because so great an heretick was not to be trusted; and because having such knowledge of him as he had; he was confident that they only desired to bring him into the Church

(i) Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 25. Niceph. 1. 8. cap. 51.

(k) Athanas. Epist. ad

Serap.

(l) Sozom. 1. 2. cap. 38.

(m) Athan. Ep. ad Serap. Sozom.

ibid. Socr. lib. 1. cap. 25.

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again to ruin it, by destroying the doctrine of the holy Council of Nice, of which that wicked wretch was a sworn enemy, although he had falsely sworn that he maintained it.

(n) Eusebius being exasperated at the opposition which he met with in this good man, and growing insolent by the orders which the Emperor had given for Arius's being received to Communion, after his having sworn and subscribed, he was furiously enraged against Alexander, and treating him with ill language, he insolently told him, (o) That if he did not receive Arius in eight days, he would condemn him himself, and cause him to be deposed and banished; that in the mean time he should be at liberty to offer his reasons why he thought that a man, who had so authentickly given the Emperor his subscription, was not orthodox. (p) In effect, they were divided in Constantinople upon this subject, and both sides disputed warmly about it; and tho' the greatest part held with their Bishop Alexander, yet there were not wanting several also who undertook to prove that they injured Arius, whose doctrine they said was orthodox.

(q) But Alexander, avoiding disputes, which would have been of very little use to him at that juncture, had recourse to more powerful weapons, and spent the whole week in prayer, being shut-up in the Church, which was styled that of Peace, and prostrating himself before the holy altar, he begged of God with tears and groans to deliver his Church from the great danger that it was in, by some extraordinary instance of his power, because the strength of his enemies prevailed over the weakness of his servants. (r) It is also said that extraordinary man James of Nisibis, who was then in the imperial city, joined his prayers to those of Alexander, and that he exhorted all the people to pray to God for the same purpose. However, the Eusebians, over-joy'd at their being so near, impatiently expected the next Sunday, which was the time appointed for restoring Arius to Communion with the Catholics, and openly scoffed at what Alexander unsuccessfully did to hinder it. Nay, having found him on the Saturday out of the Church, where he was almost continually at prayer, they insolently said to him: (s) "Know that as in spirit of you we brought Arius to Constantinople; so, notwithstanding all you can do, we will carry him to-morrow to the Church, where he shall be

(n) Socr. *ibid*.

(o) Sozom. c. 28.

(p) Socr. c. 25.

(q) Socr. *ibid*.

(r) Theodor. in vit. Jac. Nisib. apud Lipo. n. t. 2.

(s) Athan. Ep. ad Serap.

" received

"received for orthodox." The good Bishop, without replying to this rude threatening, went again into the Church, where lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and afterwards throwing himself all along, with his face towards the ground, which he washed with his tears, he addressed himself to God in those very words, which S. Athanasius assures us he had from his Deacon Macarius, who was then present, and took a great deal of care to retain them: (*) "Lord, if it is certain that Arius shall to-morrow be admitted to the Communion of the Church, take now thy servant out of the world, and do not confound him with the wicked, who serves thee out of a principle of true piety. But if you are so good as to spare your Church, as I know of a certain, you will, hear what Eusebius has dared to say against you, and suffer not your heritage to be put to shame, and brought to ruin without remedy. Root out Arius from the earth, lest, being received into the Church, his heresy seem also to be received with him, (†) and impiety, from henceforward, be entertained amongst Christians for true piety itself." Having said this, the good man retired in great affliction, expecting the success of his prayer, and the event of this fatal enterprize of the Eusebians.

He did not wait long, for God's assistance did not long delay the joy of his servant after so many tears. (§) The next day, very early, Eusebius, attended by a great number of his followers, went to receive Arius at his lodgings, (‡) which were in the palace, and conduct him, as it were in triumph, through the city towards the great Church, to restore him, with formality, to Ecclesiastical Communion, in the presence of all the people. (¶) But God reserved that opportunity to make his punishment the more remarkable; for as he drew near to the chief street, which was called after the name of Constantine, where that Prince had set up a great pillar of Porphyry, (x) the wretch was seized with a sudden fear; which the idea of his perjury put him into, by suddenly presenting itself to his mind in a frightful manner; and the effect of his fear was so quick and violent, that

(*) See Tillæmont, T. VII. P. I. p. 62. (†) Athan. *ibid.* (§) Tillæmont from Epiphanius, *Sandares*, &c. says that his death happened on the Saturday late in the Evening, but before sun-set; the Epiphanius (as well as Maimbourg) places it on the Sunday Morning from the words of S. Athanasius, *ἔτι ζῶν*, [non dum subivit.] See T. VI. P. II. p. 804.

(‡) Sozom. l. 2. c. 28. Socr. l. 1. c. 25. Niceph. l. 8. c. 31. Ruf. l. 1. c. 2.

(¶) See Note above.

(x) Soc. Niceph. finding

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finding himself urged, by a natural occasion, he was forced to withdraw in haste to a publick place, which was shewn him near adjoining to the street where he was ; and there he died immediately of an horrible kind of death ; (y) all his entrails, together with his liver, spleen, and his whole mass of blood having gushed out of his body. Eusebius, who had been forced to stop, (z) after having waited some time, fearing lest Alexander should seize the Church, sent some of his attendants to give notice to Arius ; but they were in an horrible confusion, when word was brought, in a tumultuous manner, of the state in which the unhappy wretch was found.

All that accompanied him, overwhelmed with shame and grief, (a) went and hid themselves, and there never was seen so much disorder and such a consternation, as those people were in, upon account of this terrible accident. The noise of it was spread in a moment throughout the city, and from thence, in a little time, through the whole earth. Constantine rejoiced at it extremely ; he adored the divine justice, which he had invoked against Arius, if he deceived him by a perjury ; he became still more firm in the Faith ; (b) and declared before every one, that God had solemnly confirmed the Council of Nice by this remarkable accident. All the people thronged to the Church with Alexander, to return thanks to God, who had delivered it from so dangerous a persecution ; and who himself, becoming judge of the threatnings of Eusebius and the prayers of Alexander, had condemned the heresy of the former by the horrid death of the author of it. (c) The infamous place of his punishment was had in abomination by the whole city. It was shewn with horror to strangers as a terrible monument of the Arian impiety, and God's vengeance, till a rich Arian, a long time after, having purchased it of the publick, built a magnificent house in its place to abolish the memory of it. The partizans of Eusebius, being recovered from their first surprize, did some of them indeed alledge, to cover their shame, (d) that Arius died with joy at seeing himself about to be so honourably restored ; others said, that his enemies had killed him after this manner by some wicked contrivance ; some, not so unreasonable as these, endeavoured to have it thought that he died of an apoplexy. However, these poor shifts to disguise a truth which was but too apparent to be con-

(y) Socr.
ad Serap.(z) Niceph.
(c) Sozom. l. 2. c. 28.

(a) Socr. l. 1. c. 25.

(b) Achan. p.
(d) Soz. *ibid.* & Niceph. l. 8. c. 51.

ceased, (e) could not extinguish the general opinion, nor put a stop to the publick voice, which declared every where that God had condemned the doctrine of Arius, (*) by the punishment of that wicked wretch; nor could it hinder several who had joined themselves to that sect from abandoning it; nor prevent Constantine from a strong belief that he had been deceived by that impostor, who at length had drawn the vengeance of God upon him by his perjuries. And certainly it might be said that Arianism then received the fatal stroke which would have destroyed it, if the death of Constantine the great, whom God thought fit to take into glory soon after, had not been the occasion of its revival.

(f) That Prince was in the 32d year of his reign, and about 65 years of age, in all which time he had enjoyed a perfect state of health, when finding himself attacked by a disease which increased daily, and having in vain used the hot baths of Constantinople, and afterwards of Helenopolis in Bithynia, he caused himself to be carried to Achizona a country-house which he had near Nicomedia: There perceiving by his distemper's growing stronger and stronger, and himself weaker, that his death was approaching, he beheld it with the same countenance with which he had seen all the powers of the world under his feet; and supplying by the strength of his mind that of his body, which daily decreased, he did that which never any body before him had done. (g) He would, as it were, anticipate and perform his funeral rites himself, by speaking in the presence of his friends and servants, a funeral oration which he had made for that occasion. He therein spoke most divinely of the immortality of the soul after death, and of the glory which is prepared for it in heaven, as a recompence for having served him upon earth, who is God alone, and having in abhorrence the worship of Idols: And he spoke so well and so earnestly upon this subject, that several Pagan philosophers, who were present at his discourse, were very much affected by it, and yielding to the truth, acknowledged that it was impossible for any one to speak better. After this, he made his will, by which he disposed of his Empire. (h) He gave it into the custody of the Priest, whom his Sister had recommended to him, in whom he had a very great confidence, because he looked upon him as a very good, sensible, and

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(e) Sozom. *ibid.* ex Athan. (*) Athan. Ep. ad Serap. (f) Socr. l. 1. c. 26. Sozom. l. 1. c. 32. Ruff. l. 15. c. 11. Euseb. l. 4. c. 53. (g) Euseb. c. 55. (h) Socr. l. 1. c. 26. Ruff. l. 1. c. 11. Sozom. l. 2. c. 32.

faithful person. He bound him by an oath not to trust it with any body but his son Constantius, to whom he delivered it as soon as he arrived. (i) He with admirable presence of mind comforted the officers of his household and army, who were in despair at the loss which they were going to have of the best master that ever was. He gave very magnificent gifts, which he made perpetual, by the pensions which he ordered to be distributed at Rome and Constantinople. (k) He shewed, by uncommon transports of mind, the extraordinary pleasure which he felt in quitting his Empire upon earth for the Kingdom of Heaven, and in leaving the world to be united to God. And to express upon this last occasion his zeal (l) for the Faith, and shew that the punishment of Arius had fully justified, in his opinion, the great Athanasius, whom they could never deceive; he ordered him to be re-established in his see, and gave this order in the presence of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who cunningly, tho' in vain, did all that he could to prevent it.

It is disputed, whether he was baptized at this time, as some ancient authors alledge from Eusebius, or some months before the Council of Nice, as the (m) learned Church Annalist undertakes to prove, which it does not belong to me as an historian to decide. However, it is certain that no one ever had greater sentiments of piety, than Constantine discovered at this juncture; and that in this happy state, being perfectly in his senses, and enjoying a great tranquillity of mind, the assurance, as it were, of his approaching bliss, (n) he gave up his soul to God on the 22d of May, about noon, being Whitsunday, in the year of our Lord three hundred and thirty seven.

Never was Prince more sincerely bewailed by his subjects than Constantine; nor did ever people of all ranks in the Empire, especially the Soldiery, who loved him exceedingly, endeavour to assuage their grief, by doing greater honours to a deceased Prince, than those that were done to his memory. His body, dressed in the imperial robes, with his diadem sparkling with precious stones, was put in a coffin of gold, covered with purple, and carried by his soldiers, as it were, in triumph into Constantinople, and deposited in the great hall of his palace, with the greatest state and pomp that ever was

(i) Euseb. c. 63. (k) Euseb. (l) Epiſt. Conſt. jun. apud Athan. Apol. 2. Socr. l. 2. c. 2. Theod. l. 1. c. 12. Sozom. l. 3. c. 3. (m) *Archbishop*
Uſſer. (n) Chro. Alex. Euseb. l. 4. de vit. Conſt. c. 64;

used in such ceremonies. The golden coffin being set entirely open, discovered Constantine under a spacious canopy, very lofty, and surrounded by a great number of wax-lights set in candlesticks of gold, and placed in exact order. His guards stood about him, and relieved one another day and night, as they used to do in his life-time when they mounted guard before his palace. All the officers of the Empire, the tribunes and captains of the army, came regularly every day, one after another, according to their rank, and prostrated themselves upon the ground before the Emperor, as if he had been on his throne, and they were come to do him homage. The Senate and Magistrates came also in a body to pay him the same respects, and every thing was performed with the greatest respect that they usually did to honour and serve him whilst he was alive, which had never been done to any of the Emperors his predecessors. So that it seemed as if JESUS CHRIST caused him to reign after his death, for being so zealous whilst alive, in causing him to be acknowledged and revered as true God throughout the whole extent of his Empire. For the Army would not suffer the honours and respects that were paid him to be intermitted, until Constantius, who was in the West, was come to finish the funeral ceremonies. Then he was carried into the magnificent Church that was dedicated to the Apostles, which a little before his death he had built, and covered with plates of copper gilt, and had erected a sumptuous monument in the porch, out of christian humility, and placed it amongst the statues of those twelve saints, that he might, says (o) Eusebius, partake of the prayers which would be made in so holy a place (p) in honour of the Apostles.

Afterwards they carried him to his sepulchre, with as much state as if he had been entering into Old Rome in triumph, as he had formerly done. The whole army attended him with colours flying; (q) all the people of the city followed in crowds; the guards marched on each side the coffin, which was placed upon a magnificent chariot. Constantius, followed by the Senate, the Magistrates, and all the Grandees of the Empire, came immediately after; and when they had paid their last respects to the Emperor, as to their master, the

(o) Lib. 4. c. 18. & seq. (p) In those times, it was usual to commemorate and pray for even the Apostles and Martyrs themselves in the offices of the Church, which is very different from praying to them. Vid. Auth. infra cit. Not. (r) (q) Euseb. c. 70. & seq.

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Bishops, attended by the Clergy and people, all in tears, came to perform the duties of the Church as to its Protector, and the first christian Emperor, by (r) solemnly offering, with great groans, fervent prayers to God for his soul, that he might be so happy as to enjoy the benefit of so many good prayers, and the mystical sacrifice which was performed at his tomb, with other sacred ceremonies. *I thought I should not be blamed for describing in my history the funeral of the first Christian Caesar, to convince people, that in the fourth century, the Church (which the Protestants acknowledge as a true one) very much resembled our Church in the sacred Ceremonies, in the unbloody Sacrifices, and in the Prayers which are at this time performed for the dead: Besides that Constantine, who has so great a share in what I have written, well deserves to have his memory honoured in this particular.*

I know that Eusebius, in his life of Constantine, gives us rather an idea of a complete Prince, as Xenophon did formerly for Cyrus, than a picture drawn from the life. On the other side too, we are not ignorant that Zosimus, to revenge the overthrow of his Gods, amongst a great deal of good which he could not conceal, has said abundance of evil of that prince, which nothing but inveterate malice caused him to remark in his actions. To speak more reasonably between these two extremes, it cannot be denied but that he had some failings, which made him guilty of what he had reason to repent of. For he was hasty, cholerick, and too sudden in putting things in execution; not sufficiently sparing of Blood, and very liable to be deceived by flatterers and cheats, and too easy in receiving ill impressions from others, or forming ill notions himself, upon very slight grounds, of those whom he thought opposed his Sentiments,

(r) *The words in Eusebius are, Τας ευχας υπὲρ τῆς Βασιλῆος ψυχῆς ἀπεδίδουσαν τῷ Θεῷ. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 71. And praying for the Dead was, doubtless, in use very early, as appears from Tertullian, S. Cyprian, &c. It seems naturally to follow from the opinion of an intermediate state after death until the resurrection, which Bishop Pearson says (Art. V.) the most ancient of the Fathers believed; and even Bishop Burnet (XXXIX. Art. p. 225.) tells us, that "The opinion that they [the Fathers] fell into concerning the state of departed souls, in the interval between their death and the day of judgment, gave occasion enough for prayer." And afterwards, -- "Tho' these prayers for the Dead did very probably give the chief rise to the doctrine of Purgatory; yet as they then made them, [i. e. these prayers] they were utterly inconsistent with that opinion." See farther, a Book entitled, Primitive Doctrines revived, printed in 8vo. A. D. 1713. and recommended by Dr. Hicke; as also Bishop Bull's answer to the Bishop of Meaux.*

or disobeyed his orders. But we must also acknowledge, and his enemies cannot dispute it, that he had almost all the good qualifications both of body and mind that are requisite to form an hero; (1) that he was a well made man, majestic, strong, indefatigable and brave; a good soldier, wise and eloquent; a sincere friend, liberal, magnificent and fond of glory; beloved by his Subjects, feared by his enemies, always happy, ever victorious, and respected by all the world; and what completed his character, he was always religious, and could never be shaken in respect of the Nicene Faith, but constantly adored JESUS CHRIST as his God and Saviour, till the very last minute of his life. For tho' he had a respect for some heretical Bishops, it was their hypocrisy, which made them seem orthodox, that deceived him; and tho' some that were very holy and orthodox were ill treated by him, they were in reality oppressed by the calumny of their enemies, who represented them either as criminals against the state, or followers of the heresy of Paulus Samosatenus: Which some of the Western writers not being well apprized of, and enraged besides at seeing so many great men banished by him, (2) they have gone so far as to say, doubtless very improperly, that he was fallen into Arianism: Whereas the most obstinate Arians, and even Arius himself, were so thoroughly persuaded that Constantine had their doctrine in abhorrence, and that he would never suffer the least attempt to be made upon that of the (u) Council of Nice, and the Consubstantiality of the Word, that they were obliged to subscribe to it, and no body durst declare against it whilst he lived. Moreover, the Fathers of the Church have all along made great encomiums upon the purity of his faith. S. Athanasius himself, who must needs have known him, and besides had no great reason to be pleased with him, proposed him, after his death, to the Emperors (x) for an example of a Prince, who had always held stedfastly to the Nicene Faith; and if his successor had followed it, the same stroke, that had driven Arius out of the world, would also have put an end to Arianism.

(1) Victor. Eutrop.

(2) Lucif. Calar. pro S. Athan. l. 1. Hier. in Chron.

(u) Sozom. l. 2. c. 30. Theodos. l. 2. c. 3. lib. 2. c. 1.
Theodor. l. 2. c. 3.

(x) Athan. ad Solit.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM.

BOOK III.

(a)



THREE Months after Constantine's death, his three sons, who had been successively created Cæsars every tenth year of his reign, being proclaimed Emperors both by the Eastern and Western armies, took possession of their several portions of the Empire, according to their father's last will; Constantine, who was the eldest, had, with both the Gauls, all that lay on the side of

the Alps towards the West and North as far as the Ocean; Constant, the youngest, was master of Rome, Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, Sicily, and all the Isles: And Constantius, the second son, had Thrace with the Imperial city, and all the Empire of the West, together with Egypt: But at the same time that he became possessed of these dominions, he gave himself up to two of the most

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(a) *Idat. Vict. in Const. Zosim. l. 2. Zonar. annal. Tom. III.*

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dangerous

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dangerous of the Arians, who influenced him as they pleased, in order to establish their heresy throughout the whole Empire by his authority.

The first of these was that Priest, whom Constantine had entrusted with his will, who, after the Emperor's death, having been the first that advertized Constantius of coming to Constantinople with all speed, and the Prince finding himself master of all that he had desired by that will, made no question but it was this Priest who had induced his father to make it, and consequently that he was obliged to him upon this account: (b) Therefore he conceived such an affection for him, that he placed all his confidence in him, gave him the command over all that were in his palace; and, in short, was wholly governed by him.

The second was Eusebius of Nicomedia, (c) who gave him the letters, which, he said, were entrusted with him by the Emperor a little before his death; by which he warned him to beware of his two uncles, Constantius and Hannibalianus, the brothers of Constantine, who had been so wicked as to poison him; and that he should be sure to revenge his father's death on them. (d) There was, in truth, such a report spread abroad, as it often happens at the death of great Princes, which the malice of some people would make the more remarkable, upon account of such suspicions, which have never been entirely brought to light. But since that report had no reasonable foundation; and that during Constantine's sickness, which lasted above six weeks, there was no mention made of poison, we don't find that it made any great impression upon the people. So that there is a great deal of reason to think that those letters were forged, and that it was only a contrivance between Constantius and Eusebius to make those unhappy Princes the more odious, and favour the design which that Emperor had of getting rid of them, in order to reign alone in the East. For a little while after, the army, by the secret orders, or at least by the consent of Constantius, rising in arms, cried out in a tumultuous manner, (e) That they would never suffer any but the children of Constantine to have a share in the Empire; (f) and thereupon the soldiers massacred the two Princes his brothers, and soon after Dalmatius, son to his second brother. (g) He was a young

(b) Ruff. l. 1. c. 11. Socr. l. 2. c. 2. Sozom. l. 3. c. 1.

pend.

(d) Arthem. Mart. apud Metaphr.

(e) Sozom. l. 2. Secr. l. 3.

c. 24

(f) Sozom. l. 3. c. 2. Victor. in Genl.

(g) Euseb. l. 10.

Prince, who had a great many good qualities, and who gave hopes of his being in time like his uncle, who had already created him Cæsar : But all this merit had no effect upon Constantius, tho' he was his cousin german, because he would not endure any one, who, as it were, eclipsed him in the Empire. Gallus and Julian, his two other cousins very difficultly escaped ; the one by means of a dangerous sickness, and the other by being very young ; for Gallus, who was extremely sick, was but twelve years old, and Julian no more than five. For which reason, thinking that he had nothing to apprehend from two children, he determined to have them brought up to Learning, far from the court, (b) in a fine palace that he had near Cæsarea in Palestine, in order to dedicate them afterwards to the Church. (i) He moreover caused Optalus and Oblavius, who had the greatest power with his father, to be killed ; and changing all the officers of his palace, he gave the most considerable places to the (k) Eunuchs, whom Constantine had always held in contempt, and kept in the meanest employments.

Such cruel beginnings, which favoured of the brutality of the late Pagan Emperors, were the presages of a reign more dreadful to Religion, than the most bloody persecutions of idolatrous tyrants themselves had been. (l) Eusebius of Nicomedia being no longer under any apprehensions of Constantine, and expecting every thing that he could desire from Constantius, pulled off his disguise, and began to act openly in the city, in concert with Theognis of Nice ; their endearour was to destroy the Faith of the Council, to abolish the term *Consubstantial*, and, instead thereof, to establish all the heretical tenets of Arius, whose equivocations were rendered entirely useless by that expression. On the other side, the Priest their confederate went on so successfully in the Palace, that he there gained over in a little time the principal officers, whom he corrupted with Arianism. The first whom he undertook to persuade, was (m) Eusebius the Eunuch, one of the most considerable amongst them, being Great-Chamberlain to the Emperor. As wicked men are easily united together to do evil, when their interests agree ; this Eunuch, who aimed at nothing but making his fortune, seeing the Priest have so much power over his Master, soon let himself be won, and became as obstinate an Arian, as he

(b) Sozom. l. 5. c. 2. (i) Zosim. *ibid.* Athan. Ep. ad Solit. (k) Lam-
prid. in Alex. (l) Socrat. l. 2. c. 2. Sozom. l. 3. c. 1, (m) Socr. l. 2. c. 2.

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who engaged him in the heresy. Nay, what is more, he brought over all the Eunuchs of the Palace into the same party, who made no difficulty of following the Religion, or rather the impious error of their chief. And that hypocritical Priest having learned, at Constantia's expence, the art of insinuating himself dextrously into the good opinion of women, by means of being what we call their director, knew so well how to manage the Empress as such, and caused her to be so closely besieged by the Eunuchs, (n) who, as well as himself, were continually speaking advantageously of the new opinion; that the Princess, who valued herself for her wit, became an Arian with all her heart, and openly took that party under her protection. (o) After this, it was no difficult matter to move Constantius, who besides affected to alter every thing that his father had done, and who was, as it were, delivered up into the hands of Arians of both sexes, with whom his palace was filled. In effect, he immediately shewed that he delighted to hear them speak of the doctrine of Arius; he even undertook to examine it, and made them dispute about it before him, as if it had been a question in debate, and people were still at liberty which side to choose; so that being in doubt, whether he should become an Arian, he already ceased to be a Catholick, and began to discover that he could be, what he soon after publicly declared himself, namely, the head and defender of Arianism.

In the mean time, the liberty which people had of speaking their sentiments upon a point, which in the reign of Constantine they durst not call in question, caused every where very great disorders. (p) The matter was warmly debated on both sides, both at Court and in the city: The Eunuchs, being victors in the palace, acted the part of Doctors, and disputed authoritatively with those Ladies belonging to the Empress, whom the fear of God, and the tenderness of their conscience, still kept in that submission, that was due to the determinations of the Council. War was likewise waged in private families, through the eagerness of disputing; every one chose their party, and armed themselves with arguments and passages of Scripture to defend it; they even proceeded to abuse and insult one another, and the disorder was soon as great in Constantinople, in the provinces, particularly in Egypt and Alexandria, as it had been in the beginning of this heresy, when Arius there formed his party against Alexander.

(n) Zosim. l. 1;

(o) Socr. l. 2, c. 2.

(p) Socr. *ibid.* Sozom. l. 3, c. 1.

(q) This

(q) This was exactly what Eusebius and Theognis desired, who hoped to reap their advantage from these disorders, and to contrive it so, that Constantius, out of policy at least, might not recall S. Athanasius, as Constantine had ordered him, but keep him still in banishment, lest the disorders in Alexandria should be increased by his return: By this means they imagined they should be able to place a Bishop there of their own faction; (r) for they had no hopes of stifling the Faith which had been preserved by the Council of Nice, whilst it had so powerful a defender as Athanasius: (s) And it is very probable they would have succeeded, had not his unexpected return suddenly overturn'd all their designs, since the Emperor himself came very readily into their sentiments, and that hypocritical Priest was continually telling him, with great groans, that they were the authors of those disorders in the Church, who had inserted into the Confession of Faith, the term *Consubstantial*, which was not to be found in Scripture.

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Constantine the younger, who had received S. Athanasius at Treves with all the respect that was due to his merit, having been informed of the last orders of the Emperor his Father concerning his being restored, had immediately (t) sent him back to his Church, with letters, much to his honour, which signified to the Alexandrians this last desire of Constantine the great, which he supposed they would put in execution without dispute, and without its being necessary for him to have recourse to Constantius, who was informed of it as well as himself. (u) He was received there with great tokens of joy, and by an incredible concourse of people of all orders, who could not sufficiently express to him the pleasure which they received by seeing him again. And as the other Bishops, who had only been banished upon his account, returned to their sees almost at the same time; the joy upon this occasion became general throughout all Egypt. This was a great surprize to the Arians; but Eusebius, who was never at a loss, but had always an expedient ready against whatever might happen, wrote to his partizans in Egypt, the chief of whom was Secundus of Ptolemais, to raise as great a tumult as they could against Athanasius, (x) because the greater disorders they made upon his account, the better opportunity would he have to proceed against him with success.

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(q) Socrat. *ibid.* Sozom. *ibid.* (r) Socrat. (s) Theodor. l. 2. c. 3.
(t) Theodor. l. 2. c. 1. Socr. l. 2. c. 2. Sozom. l. 3. c. 2. (u) Theodor. l. 2.
c. 3. Epist. Syr. Alex. apud Athan. Apol. 2. (x) Athan. Or. 1. contr. Ar.

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This accordingly happened; for Eusebius, after having taken measures with the Arian Priest, who influenced Constantius as he pleased, came to make remonstrances upon this matter (y) with Theognis of Nice, and Theodore of Perinthus, a man of great repute for his wit and extraordinary knowledge. Their Bishopricks not being a great way from Constantinople, they were usually at Court, without any one's finding fault with them, and the Priest who was in the secret with them procured them audience of the Emperor whenever they had a mind. Accordingly they came and remonstrated to him, "That Athanasius's return had caused abundance of mischief in Egypt, particularly in Alexandria; That the greatest part of the people, who had him in abhorrence, heard the news of it with the greatest concern, which they signified by groans and cries as in a public calamity; That he not being able to bear the marks which were given, even in his presence, of the (z) hatred which they bore him, had vented his rage upon the people, both in person, and by his Priests, who served him instead of executioners; That there had been blood spilt in the tumult, and that he had gone into the Church like a lion let loose, trampling upon the bodies of those whom his partizans had massacred; and that not only Egypt, (a) but all the neighbouring provinces were continually disturbed by the seditions that were raised upon his account." Moreover they remonstrated, (b) "That he had violated all the Laws of the Church by entering into his Bishoprick in opposition to all manner of form, and contrary to the Canons, which allow not a Bishop deposed by a Synod, as he had been in that of Tyre, to be re-established otherwise than by an Episcopal determination." At length they added, (c) "That through an abominable avarice which came near to sacrilege, he had kept the corn which Constantine of glorious memory, had ordered to be distributed to the poor Widows of Egypt and Lybia."

Constantius, who was already exasperated against S. Athanasius for having returned without his being consulted, and who besides, as being a professed Arian, could not affect him, was very easily persuaded; and would have been glad to have drawn him from Alexandria at that time: But whether it was that he was ashamed to proceed so openly

(y) Theodor. l. 2. c. 2.

(z) Epist. Syr. Alexand. apud Achen. Apol. 1.

(a) Theodor. l. 2. c. 2.

(b) Epist. Syr. *ibid.* Socr. l. 2. c. 2. Soz. l. 3. c. 2.

(c) Epist. Syr. Alexand. *ibid.*

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and without any formal process against the last orders of his father, which were known to all the world; or that he was afraid of setting his brother Constantine and Constans against him, who had both declared for S. Athanasius; he durst not then let this matter pass unregarded, and it was agreed, to preserve an appearance at least of justice and decency, that those Bishops should send to the two western Emperors, and to the Bishop of Rome, to make the same complaints and accusations against S. Athanasius: Which that Patriarch being informed of, he called a Synod of all the Bishops that were under the jurisdiction of the Church of Alexandria, who after having consulted together about the importance of that affair, they wrote an excellent (d) Synodical letter to the Bishop of Rome, and to all the rest of the Bishops of the Catholick Church throughout the world, containing a justification of S. Athanasius's conduct, and an exact confutation of all the forgeries with which the Eusebians and Arians, ever since the Council of Nice, had formerly endeavoured, and did still endeavour, to blacken his character and oppress his innocence. After this, the holy Patriarch sent some of his Priests both in his own and in the name of all those Bishops, to the two Emperors, and to the Bishop of Rome, to inform them of the truth, and in their presence to confute by sufficient vouchers, which they carried with them, the calumnies of those that were sent by Eusebius. (e) The matter soon came to a conclusion before Constantine and Constans, who, by the answers of the Priests of Alexandria, having presently discovered the weakness and impudence of the accusers, drove them, with disgrace, from their presence, without allowing them another hearing.

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But the matter could not be carried on so expeditiously at Rome, where it was necessary to proceed in form, which by means of the artifices of the Eusebians was the occasion of its being prolonged. The Bishop of Rome at that time was Julius, who had sat two years in the see after Mark, the successor of Sylvester, and had all the virtue and sacerdotal resolution that could be desired in a great Prelate, to support innocence and truth against the attempts of heresy. The deputies that came from Eusebius, who were Macarius a Priest and Martyrius and Hefychius Deacons, having got to Rome first, endeavoured forthwith to surprize Julius, (f) and obtain from him letters

(d) Athan. Apol. 2.
Athan. Apol. 2.

(e) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(f) Epist. Jul. apud

A. D. 339. of communion to the most notorious Arians in Alexandria, who they pretended were entirely catholick; but S. Athanasius's Priests, who came soon after, began their business with discovering this notorious falshood; which obliged Julius to cite them to Rome. And in the mean time these Priests so plainly shewed the innocence of the Patriarch, the wickedness of the Eusebians, and the invalidity of the acts of the pretended Council of Tyre, that their deputies not being able to answer the convincing proofs that were produced against them, were forced to have recourse to the last expedient, which Eusebius had prescribed to them in their instructions; for, through fear of being condemned, as they would certainly have been, they desired (g) Julius to call a general Council, (h) to which Athanasius and the Bishops of Eusebius's party might be cited, and in which that cause might be examined in a judicial manner; assuring him, that they would there support their accusation with such facts as could not be answered. After which, as they perceived that those, in whose favour they had endeavoured to surprize Julius, were about to be convicted of Arianism, they retired during the night, tho' one of them was very sick; and so without taking leave, they returned to Constantinople.

It was no difficult matter to discover by what manner of spirit they were actuated, and that they had only desired the Council to gain time, and in the mean while to ward off a blow which was unavoidable. Julius however, that neither Constantius nor the Eusebians might have any pretence to complain, thought it requisite to comply with them, especially seeing that (i) Marcellus of Ancyra, and some others whom they had driven from their Sees, were come to Rome to seek for justice against them, on account of the oppression which they had suffered, and the many crimes which they had been accused of by them.

A. D. 340. Julius therefore having advised with the Bishops of Italy, whom he had assembled upon so important an occasion, appointed a Council to be held at Rome, (k) to which he cited S. Athanasius, together with Eusebius, and the Bishops of his party; and sent Elpidius and Philoxenus, two Priests of his Church, with letters to them for that purpose. The good Patriarch came to Rome with all convenient

(g) *Ibid.*
Solit.

(h) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.
(k) Epist. Jul. Ep. ad Solit.

(i) Epist. Jul. Athan. Ep. ad

expedition, and was perfectly well received there by Julius and (l) the Officers of the Emperor Constans, who took abundance of care both of him and his friends all the time that they staid with them. Amongst the rest, he brought with him (m) two excellent Monks named Isidore and Ammonius, who were both men of admirable sanctity, in order to give the West, and particularly Rome, a thorough notion of the monastick life and discipline, which was as yet only known in the East, where it flourished, particularly in the solitudes of Thebais, under the conduct and direction of the great Anthony, who was linked with S. Athanasius in the sacred band of friendship. This good Bishop had lately composed the life of this holy Anchorer, who was still alive, and was glad of so good an opportunity of publishing it at Rome, (n) as he did at that time, to shew them the model and original of what they saw so well copied in Isidore and Ammonius. It was received there not only with the general applause of every body, who admired such extraordinary perfection, but it also had a wonderful effect upon several considerable persons, particularly Marcella, one of the greatest ladies in Rome, who was the first in the East, who honoured her sex by publicly professing this sort of life, together with several others, who preferred the imitation of so good an example to all worldly greatness. It is also said, that S. Athanasius at this time composed the admirable (o) Creed *that goes under his name*, as a Confession of Faith, which he presented to the Council and the Bishop of Rome, in order to have communion with the Roman Church before his cause came to be examined. This excellent piece (it is said) was placed in the Archives, with the acts of the Council; and it being found a long time after, when it was thought to be lost, with several other things, in the revolutions which often happened at Rome, it was judged fit to be made publick, in honour of the memory of so great a man, and to be inserted in the divine offices, to promote the faith of believers, as expressing most perfectly the Catholick Faith, in opposition to the impieties and blasphemies of Arianism; tho' it is very probable that the second

(l) *Apol. ad Constant.* (m) *Socr. l. 4. c. 18.* (n) *Hier. Ep. 16.* (o) *Baron. ad an. 340. h. ii.* See Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.* Du Pin, Vol. II. p. 35. and Tillemont, T. VIII. P. I. §. 30. and Note 34. sur Athanasie.

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part, which relates to the great mystery of the incarnation, (p) in opposition to the heresy of Nestorius, has since been added. In short, S. Athanasius had no leisure to satisfy his devotion at the tombs of the Apostles and Martyrs, and in other holy places, for the space of eighteen months; (q) during all which, he in vain waited for his adversaries.

For Eusebius and his party had quite other designs than that of coming to Rome. They endeavoured indeed to amuse Julius and Athanasius, with hopes of that judgment which they themselves had demanded to be given in the West, in the presence of the Bishop of Rome, whilst they laboured in the East to drive the most zealous defenders of the faith from their sees, and get possession of the Churches, in order to place there the most open enemies of the (r) doctrine of Nice. At length therefore, they excused themselves upon account of the war that was then with the Persians, which made it improper for Bishops to be so long absent from their people; and yet they retained (*) Julius's deputies, under pretence of shewing them respect, by waiting on them at Rome as soon as they conveniently could. But in the mean time, they took all occasions of treating the orthodox Bishops as they had used S. Athanasius.

In effect, after the death of Alexander, who died at this time at Constantinople, in the 84th year of his age, a man no less remarkable for his merit than years, the Catholics, who were yet the most numerous, having set in his place Paul, a very learned and virtuous man, and one inviolably attached to the belief of the Consubstantiality of the Word; (s) and this being done notwithstanding all the cabals of the Arians who were for setting up Macedonius, another Priest of Constantinople, of whom they fancied themselves secure, Eusebius thought that he had found out a way both to deliver his party from so powerful an adversary, and to possess a post which he looked upon as very advantageous to satisfy his ambition, and the desire he had

(p) *This is one of the Arguments, that is urged against this Creed's being S. Athanasius's. [See Note above.] For he died about the year 373; and the heresy of Nestorius was not broached till towards the middle of the next century. He was Patriarch of Constantinople, and denied the union of the human and divine natures in our Saviour Christ.*

(q) *See Tillemont, ibid. §. 34. and Note 40. and Athanas. vit. Benedict. p. 39, &c.*

(r) *Athanas. Ep. ad Solit.*

(*) *Epist. Jul. apud Athanas.*

Apol. 2.

(s) *Socr. l. 2. c. 5.*

of promoting his Sect. For which reason, as soon as Constantius, in whose absence this election was made, returned, he so biassed him by means of the power which he and his party had with him, that this Prince was very angry, that, without his knowledge, they had chosen a person so disagreeable to him, and so opposite to his opinion and designs. (t) Upon which, having assembled as many of the Arian Bishops as they could of those who lived nearest to Constantinople, he caused Paul to be deposed (u) as an intruder, who had procured himself to be elected without the consent of the neighbouring Bishops, by whom the election ought to have been made. (x) Then he banished him, and caused Eusebius to be chosen in his stead, who thus was translated (y) from the Church of Nicomedia, formerly an Imperial city, to that of Constantinople, which then was such, and remains so at this time.

After having so happily succeeded in his enterprize, Eusebius resolved to rid himself of Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, the most powerful of all those who opposed the establishment of his heresy. To bring this design about, he suborned people to tell (*) Constantius, that he was an enemy to him, and had spoken insolently and abusively of the memory of the Empress his mother. This accusation relating to a very tender point, (z) the Emperor, who was extremely exasperated against him, without difficulty resolved his destruction, and abandoned him to Eusebius, who undertook to ruin him under some other pretence, and procure him to be condemned for other crimes, without mentioning this, or so much as there being any appearance of it. For this purpose he feigned a journey to Jerusalem to visit the holy places, from whence he returned back to Antioch, to give orders about what was necessary for celebrating the dedication (a) of the great Temple, which Constantine had begun to build there, and Constantius had finished. He set out from Constantinople with Theognis of Nice, the most faithful of all his friends; and as they passed by Antioch, they were received there with all manner of respect and civility by Eustathius, to whom they likewise gave all possible instances of a sincere

(t) *Ibid.* (u) Sozom. (x) Theod. l. 2. c. 5. (y) Socr. Sozom. Epist. Syn. Alex. apud Athan. Apol. 2. (*) Tillemont says, that what is here related, happened in the reign of Constantine, in the year 331, and not in 340, as Baronius, from S. Athanasius and S. Jerom, asserts; since the word Constantio, in the places he cites, ought to be read Constantino. The curious may consult Tillemont, Tom. VII. P. III. Notes 3, 4, and 5. sur S. Eustathe. This also agrees with Eusebius and the other Historians of that time; and Dupin takes it for granted, Vol. II. p. 22. (z) Athan Epist. ad Solit. (a) Theod. l. 1. c. 21.

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friendship, the better to conceal the treacherous designs which they were contriving against him. As soon as Eusebius arrived at Jerusalem, all the Bishops of his faction, who were then in the neighbouring provinces, came to him; his old friend Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Actius of Lydda, Theodore of Laodicea, several others of Syria and Palestine; and above all, Eusebius of Cæsarea. He imparted to them the real cause of his journey, and the design which he had undertaken, in concert with the Emperor, of driving Eustathius from his See without violence, for fear of raising a commotion, because he was mightily beloved, shewing them the means that were necessary to bring it about. He found them all ready to do whatever he desired, and especially Eusebius of Cæsarea, who besides the common interest of his party, imagined he had a more particular reason not to love Eustathius, as being his rival in learning and eloquence, as well as in dignity, having had the preference of him when chosen into the Bishoprick of Antioch, at the death of Paulinus.

After having well considered what was to be done, Eusebius took again the road to Antioch, accompanied by all those Bishops, who pretended to come thither, only to attend the new Bishop of the Imperial city, out of respect. Eustathius, who had no suspicion of what they were plotting against him, and being one of a great spirit, did his utmost to give a good reception to such good company; for he had already with him other Bishops, who came a great way off, on account of the dedication, which was about to be performed. But one day, as they were all assembled in the form of a Synod, to consider upon some ecclesiastical affair, the holy Patriarch was very much surprized at the sight of a * woman holding a child in her arms, who came in to them, and throwing down the child at their feet, told them with lamentable cries, that Eustathius, after having seduced her, had left her with that child, of which he was the father, and which he most cruelly refused to maintain. At this, Eusebius, who had suborned this woman, and all the Bishops of his party said, that as this was a crime so shameful and scandalous to the Church, he was under a necessity of justifying himself. The good Bishop thought that would be no difficult matter, because, being well assured of his own innocence, he was no less confident of this impudent woman's not being able to support her accusation by any sort of proof. He demanded therefore

(*) Dupin says, that this story is improbable, because S. Athanasius does not mention it, Vol. II. p. 22.

that she might be obliged to produce some evidence of the crime she accused him of: She, who had her instructions, answered him, that indeed she had none, because he had been cunning enough to take such precautions, that no body could ever depose against him; but that she was ready to swear, as accordingly she did, that Eustathius was the father of the child, meaning by that a certain artificer by whom she really had it, as she afterwards confessed before several Bishops, to whom, finding herself sick and at the last extremity, she confessed this horrible piece of villany invented by Eusebius. (b) All laws, both human and divine, in such cases, forbid any person, and especially a Priest, to be condemned without some farther proof than this; and the rest of the Bishops, who were at that assembly, would not have had any regard paid to such weak testimony in so improbable a case.

But the Eusebians, who desired nothing more, began to cry out with one consent, that the crime was but too well testified by the accomplice of it herself, who averred it to his face, and confirmed what she alledged by an oath. Whereupon Eusebius of Cæsarea, between whom and Eustathius there had been great differences, because in one (c) of his books he had accused him of corrupting the doctrine of the Council of Nice; rising from his seat, acted the part of an accuser, and said, that although he should not be convicted of that adultery, as he really was, he ought nevertheless to be deposed, because, that under pretence of adhering to the Faith of the Council, which he did not do, he maintained the errors of (*) Sabellius, which Eusebius pretended to prove by false conclusions, which he drew from his principles. And hereupon, notwithstanding all that the great Bishop could urge to the contrary, the Eusebians pronounced sentence of deposition against him, and without hearing the rest of the Bishops, who protested against this horrible injustice, they went to meet the Emperor, who, they knew, was not far from Antioch, whither he was coming, and so contrived it, that at his arrival, that Prince, who had already made himself the minister of their passion, and was greatly exasperated against Eustathius, (d) banished him to Trajanopolis in Thrace, where he finished, at length, by this sort of Martyrdom, a life which he had rendered worthy of admiration, both by the purity of his doctrine and manners, and the glorious combats

(b) 2. Cor. xiii. (c) Secr. l. 2. c. 18: (*) See Note above. B. I. (d) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. See Notes above, where it is said he died about A. D. 337.

which

A. D. which he had undergone, in defence of the Divinity of JESUS
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(e) Euphronius, an Arian, was immediately put in his place, who changed the state of the city, by establishing his impiety in it; so that the Catholics seeing the wolf in the fold, the shepherd being driven away, separated themselves from the communion of his impious successor, and did not think themselves dishonoured (f) by the name which the hereticks gave them, calling them Eustathians.

This was as it were the signal of the war which was declared and openly carried on against the orthodox Bishops that were most opposite to the faction of Eusebius. (g) Eutropius Bishop of Adrianople, who openly reprov'd him for his wickedness, and used to caution those that pass'd through his city to avoid him as a publick contagion, was deprived of his Bishoprick, by means of the Empress's anger, who could not bear that liberty. Euphrasius of Calanis, Cymathius of Paltha, Asclepas of Gaza, Cyrus of Boerca, Ellanicus of Tripoli, Diodorus, Domon, and several others, who had given more sensible proofs of the great aversion, were driven from their Churches, part of them by an order signed by the Emperor, without any formal process, and the rest under some other pretence, and by a sentence pronounced against them for imaginary offences. Arians were every where put in their places, and it might be said that then began the persecution which those impious wretches rais'd against the Church, not only like serpents by the poison of their errors, but also like lions, by the same arms which the rage of the Dioclesians and Maximins had made use of to oppress it.

But (*) Eusebius of Cæsarea did not long enjoy the satisfaction which he had from his rival's being ruined by his means; for he was soon after summoned before the tribunal of divine justice, to give an account of this action and the ill use he had made of his wit and eloquence, which he had made basely subservient to the wicked devices of the other Eusebius, for the establishing of heresy: However, God suffered him somewhat longer, though he was endeavouring more than ever to corrupt all the East, and even the West too, if it had been possible. (h) Constantine, the protector of S. Athanasius, being

(e) Hieron. in Chron.
ad Solit.

(f) Theodor. l. i. c. 22.

(g) Athan. Epist.

(*) Dupin and Tillemont both place his death about the year 338, after that of the younger Constantine, when S. Athanasius and his friends returned from banishment.

(h) Zosim. l. 2. Idat. Victor. Eutrop. Hieron.

now dead. That unhappy Prince having quarrelled with Constans about the possession of certain provinces, and having invaded his territories on the other side of the Alps, was unfortunately killed in a skirmish; after whose death the whole Empire of the West remained in the entire possession of Constans, by which he became more powerful than his brother Constantius; and therefore the Eusebians endeavoured to surprize him into their measures after their Council of Antioch, which fell out very opportunely for them, and in which they at length brought to pass what they had so long aimed at, namely, the placing a Patriarch of their faction in Alexandria, in the room of S. Athanasius.

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These deliverers had now amused Julius Bishop of Rome, and his deputies, for near a year, in hopes all the while of their coming to the Council that was to be held there, because they themselves had desired it, in order to judge the cause of S. Athanasius. They had at first excused themselves upon account of the war with the Persians; but that not being very considerable, that excuse at last seemed too weak, and therefore they were over-joyed to find a new occasion for excusing themselves, by Constantius's having called an assembly of all the Bishops of his Empire at Antioch, there to celebrate the dedication of the magnificent Church called the (i) Golden Temple, which his father Constantine had begun ten years before, and which he finished. (*) It being now the fifth year of his reign, he having a mind to celebrate it with extraordinary magnificence, gladly took this opportunity to make the consecration of his Church the more conspicuous. (k) But tho' he had invited all Bishops in general, yet only ninety four came thither, because several of them, particularly the Patriarch of Jerusalem, easily foresaw that no liberty would be allowed them in the Council (l) which the Eusebians pretended to hold, and that the Emperor would cause every thing to be performed at their pleasure.

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Accordingly, after the ceremony of the dedication, Constantius, who had concerted matters with Eusebius, would have the Bishops form themselves into a Council, which assumed to itself the power and authority of prescribing laws to the whole Church, as in reality they did, without consulting the Bishop of Rome, (m) who had nothing to do in it; although the laws of the Church, as Socrates, (speaking of

(i) *The Latin Name is* *Dominicum Aureum.*
(k) *Athan. de Syr.*

(l) *Socr. ibid.*

(*) *Socr. l. 2. c. 5.*
(m) *Socr. ibid.*

this-Council) tells us, forbids the making of any laws or canons for Churches in general, without the consent and authority of the Roman Pontiff. They assembled in the Emperor's presence to the number of about ninety, thirty six of them being (n) of Eusebius's party, and his most zealous friends; the very same (no doubt) who had (†) just before deposed Eustathius, who had so much abused S. Athanasius at Tyre, and restored Arius in the pretended Council of Jerusalem. (o) They had no reason even to regret the loss of Eusebius of Cæsarea, his place being supplied by his disciple Accasius (p) who had succeeded him in that Bishoprick, and who with no less wit and capacity had a great deal more boldness than his master, and a heat of temper that almost transported him to madness. (q) They were under no concern at the other party's surpassing them in numbers, because they were very sure that whatever they did, either in their own private assembly or in publick, would be authorized by the Emperor, who would make it pass without any one's daring to oppose it. And that the orthodox might not then refuse to communicate with them upon account of their having upon so many occasions publicly declared themselves protectors of Arius, whose very name was had in abhorrence, (r) they solemnly protested that they were not Arians in any respect; that it was not for them, who were Bishops, to follow his party who was only a Priest; that their belief was no other than what the Church had established from the beginning; that upon the stir that was made about Arius, they were desirous to examine his sentiments, but that so far from following his opinions, they had received him amongst them only upon his conforming to their belief by returning to his duty. Upon this, the orthodox Bishops, who either could not, or durst not, undertake to convince them of the contrary, were obliged to enter into the same assembly with them, which they called the Council of Antioch, although there never was a Congregation of people in the Church that less resembled a lawful Council.

The first thing that they did there, was to examine into the cause of S. Athanasius, though it was then under the cognizance of the Bishop of Rome, who had already called a Council in that city to

(n) Epist. Jul. apud Athan. Apol. 2.
Eustathius.
(o) Sozom. l. 3. c. 5.
(p) Ibid.
(q) Socr. l. 2. c. 7.

(†) See Notes before cited relating to
(p) Socr. l. 2. c. 3. Athan. de Syn.

determine it. (i) The heads of the accusation were the same that had been carried into the West, and laid before the two Emperors and Julius: To this they added all the crimes for which they had deposed him at Tyre. Then (i) the thirty six Eusebian Bishops, with one consent, deposed him again, as having been forcibly restored contrary to the Canons, as well as having deserved to be deposed for the fresh crimes of which he had been guilty. As for all the other Bishops, whether they spoke, or were silent upon this occasion, they were counted for nothing by means of Constantius's authority, who was present at the sentence. After this, they mentioned some body to succeed S. Athanasius, which was what Constantine the Great would never consent to, even notwithstanding he had banished him.

Eusebius of Constantinople, who had the ordering of every thing in this Council, and had formed a design of placing one of his creatures in Alexandria for the establishing of his heresy in that city, named Eusebius, who is known to us under the title of Emisenus, from his Bishoprick. He was a man of a great deal of wit and knowledge, born at Edessa in Syria, of noble parentage, and instructed by Eusebius of Caesarea, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, a noted Arian. He was moreover an intimate friend of George of Laodicea, one of the most zealous of that sect, (u) who also wrote in praise of his friend, some time after, a book stuffed with nothing but falsities and pretended miracles, which Sozomen has unwittingly taken for truth. This George being a creature of Eusebius's, who had procured him a Bishoprick, after he had been driven from Alexandria as an Arian by Alexander the Patriarch of that time, he found it no difficult matter so effectually to recommend his friend to his patron, that he caused him to be elected Bishop of Alexandria, tho' he was not so much as one of the Clergy, thinking that by his parts and eloquence he would so gain the approbation of the people of that city, that they would not have occasion to repent of the loss of their favourite Athanasius.

But this Eusebius, who was a man of greater penetration, as well as more moderate than the other, would not expose himself to the insults of the Alexandrians, whose hasty and violent temper he was acquainted with, having lived some time amongst them; and knowing

(i) Sozom. l. 3. c. 5.
 tom. *ibid.*

(i) Epist. Jul. apud Athan. Apol. 3.

(u) So-

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very well that they would never suffer any other person in the place of their Bishop, he excused himself handsomely, as not thinking that he was equal to so weighty a charge, which required a man of intrepidity and more resolution than he was master of. Wherefore, having given him the Bishoprick of Emessa, in which itself he had a great deal to suffer from the inhabitants, who drove him thence, as a man inclined to judicial Astrology, (x) Eusebius caused Gregory a Cappadocian to be chosen for Alexandria, one of the worst men upon earth, and an obstinate Arian by profession, tho' at the bottom he was not even a Christian; which choice was contrary to all the laws of the Church, which at that time allowed no Bishop to be made, (y) who was not taken from amongst the Clergy of that Church to which he was to be preferred, and unless he was known to the people, and proposed or demanded by the Clergy, and the election made upon the place, within the Church. But as such laws are made by the Church, to whom God hath given power to use them as she shall judge necessary, according to the difference of time, place and occasion, she is not so strictly bound by them, but that she has thought fit to change them, for good reasons, into other laws that are in force at present.

Having thus succeeded in what they had contrived against S. Athanasius, (z) the thirty six Bishops set themselves at work to make a Confession of Faith, which might be generally received, and at the same time still leave them at liberty to support their Arian principles. To this end, they were very careful not to insert into it any of those propositions which had been openly condemned in the doctrine of Arius, and also to avoid, as mariners do a rock, the word *Essence* or *Substance*, and much more the term *Consubstantial*, which destroyed their heresy without remedy. Accordingly they sent a form of a Confession to all the Churches; and (u) after having protested that, so far from being Arians, it was they themselves that had caused him to return to the true belief of the Church, they acknowledged in this form, "That they believed in one God, the Creator of all things, and in his only Son, who was with the Father before all ages, by whom every thing was made, and that he would be King and God throughout all ages." But perceiving that this form, which very

(x) Socr. l. 2. c. 6. Sozom. l. 3. c. 5. Athan. lib. de Syn. (y) Euseb. Jul. apud Athan. Apol. 2. (z) Sozom. ibid. (u) Socr. l. 2. c. 7.

little resembled that of Nice, would undoubtedly make them suspected, they made another a few days after, which expressed a great deal more, and might deceive the faithful, by the many and extraordinary praises which they gave to the Word. For in this form, besides the honourable titles which the holy Scripture gives to God the Son, they added, "That they believed him to be God, according to the Gospel, which says, (*) *And the Word was God*: That he was not capable of changing; That he was the image of the Divinity, the essence and glory of the Father: And, in fine, that they acknowledged the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to be three distinct Persons, but that they were one only in mind and will." After this, they anathematized those who alledged, "That there was a time when the Word was not yet begotten of the Father, or (which is much the same) that he is like unto Creatures." This without doubt is orthodox, when properly understood in the scripture sense: But by not mentioning what the Scripture requires to be added for preserving the unity of the Faith, namely, that he is of the same substance with the Father, and that the three Persons, which are but one in will, are only one essence; they had still room to give, as they did, an heretical and Arian interpretation to their words.

However, they repented of having advanced so far, and thought that they had said too much, by confessing that he was the image (b) of the substance and divinity of his Father, *without any difference*. For which reason they chose a third profession of Faith, which was proposed to them by Theophrastus Bishop of Tyana; in which, acknowledging the Word to be the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all ages, perfect God of perfect God, they suppressed, as in the first, the words (c) *Essence* and *Substance*, to oblige themselves to nothing, and that they might not be forced to acknowledge that he was of the same substance with his Father, or at least like to him in substance, which hitherto they would not allow of. In this form they also added anathema's against those who followed the opinions of (*) Paulus Samosatenus, Sabellius, and Marcellus of Ancyra, whom Eusebius had before caused to be deposed as a Sabellian.

(*) S. John I. de Synod.

(b) ἐπεὶ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι αὐτὸν ὁμοῦς, l. 1, c. 7. S. Athan. lib.

(c) ὁμοῦς ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος.

(*) See Notes B. I.

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But the most extraordinary circumstance in this matter was, that some time after, when it was necessary to depute some of their body to Constantius upon account of this Council, they began to be under new fears and scruples, that they had not expressed themselves fully enough in this third form of Faith; and that the principles of Arianism were not so well palliated in it, (d) but that the Prince, whom the Eusebians were very desirous of deceiving, might easily discover it. (e) For which reason they drew up a fourth form; in which, expressing themselves much after the same manner as the Council of Nice, excepting the words *Begotten, not made, Consubstantial (or being of one substance) with the Father*, they added anathema's against those that asserted, "That the Son was produced out of nothing, or of another hypostasis, and not of God; and that there was a time when he was not yet in being." These were the same blasphemous propositions which Arius maintained at first, and which the Nicene Fathers had condemned: Nevertheless, the first of them necessarily holds good, if we do not grant the Consubstantiality of the Word. But these hereticks imagined, that Constantius, being dazzled by their anathema's, which were entirely the same as those of Nice, would not observe it, but look upon them as thoroughly orthodox. (f) They sent therefore four of their body, as if deputed from the Council, to the Emperor, to (g) carry him that Confession of Faith, and letters against S. Athanasius, for the justifying of the Sentence which they had pronounced against him. For (b) this embassy, which was of very great importance to them, they chose four of the stoutest and most zealous defenders of their sect, namely, Narcissus of Neronias, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Perinthus or Heraclea, and Marcus of Arethusa.

But before this, which did not happen till a great while after the conclusion of the Synod, they concluded their assembly by some ecclesiastical regulations, which they reduced into twenty five canons, and sent to the Bishops of all the Provinces, as if they had had the authority of a general Council. To say the truth, they had recourse to abundance of Artifices to make them pass; for to take off the suspicion which people might very naturally conceive against them, they suppressed almost all their names in the subscriptions to the Synodical

(d) Athan. de Synod.

(e) Sozom. l. 3. c. 14.

(f) Athan. ibid.

(g) Athan. Apol. ad Constantium.

(b) Athan. de Synod.

letter, which they put before these Canons, and let none be seen, but those that were orthodox: Besides, they began with a commendation of the holy Council of Nice, whose Canon for the celebration of Easter they renewed, and made, besides, several very good regulations concerning ecclesiastical polity: For which reason, they were anciently inserted into the body of the Canons, not upon account of their coming from the Council of Antioch, which was never looked upon as lawful, but because several of these Canons were agreeable to the received rules of the Church, allowing liberty, however, of rejecting them as being made by Arians.

This appears by the answer, which S. Chrysostome above sixty years afterwards made to those who objected his having broken the 12th Canon of Antioch; for it is decreed by that Canon, that if a Bishop is deposed by a Synodical sentence, he shall not appeal to the Emperor, nor be restored except by a Synod consisting of a greater number of Bishops than the former. It is evident that this Canon was made by the Eusebians, only to enforce their sentence against S. Athanasius, who after having been deposed by their Council of Tyre, was restored by Constantine the younger, without the determination of another Synod. (i) Leontius, Bishop of Ancyra, who presided at the sentence against S. Chrysostome, telling him that he had been restored by a Synod, less in number than that by which he had been deposed, which was contrary to the Canon of Antioch; the Saint replied, that this Canon was not a rule to the Church, but an irregular act of the Arians, who endeavoured to support their violent proceedings by that means. However, the Council of Sardica soon after established the contrary, decreeing that a Bishop deposed by a Council might have recourse to the Bishop of Rome, who might judge of that matter either by himself or his deputies. For which reason, Innocent I. says, in respect to the cause of Chrysostome, (k) that all such Canons as have been made by hereticks, should be no more regarded than their opinions and errors.

Whilst the Eusebians were triumphing in a tyrannical manner over S. Athanasius, in their Council at Antioch, where they were absolute masters, (l) Julius, who knew nothing of what was transacted against him in the East, was making his innocence triumphant at Rome, in a Council of more than fifty Bishops. (m) For the time prescribed

(i) Socr. lib. 6. c. 16. (k) Epist. ad Celer. Constant. (l) Conc.
Roin. 3. sub Jul. (m) Athanas. Apol. 2.

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to Eusebius being now a long while expired; and he having no news of his deputies Elpidius and Philoxenus, (u) whom the Eusebians still detained, that they might have the vexation of seeing their Bishops authority so unworthily trampled upon, he caused the acts of the Council of Tyre, which the Eusebians had brought along with them to Rome, to be carefully examined into; (o) and after having heard S. Athanasius's defence, and seen the authentick and convincing acts which he brought for his justification, he, in that Synod, declared him innocent by a canonical sentence. He admitted him to communion with him, and set him at his table, (p) and soon after sent him back to his Church, to countermine what his enemies might have done during his absence. (q) Marcellus of Ancyra, and the other Bishops, who were come to seek redress at the See of Rome, upon account of their being deposed by Eusebius, were likewise cleared in this Synod, and restored to their dignities; and they there condemned, in every respect, the tyrannical proceeding of the Eusebians, against which (r) the divine justice itself seemed to shew its displeasure, by the terrible earthquake, which did abundance of mischief that year in the East, (s) and was felt at Antioch, where however they were only affrighted by the violent shocks of it.

As soon as Eusebius was informed of the proceedings against him at Rome, whilst he imagined Julius was accused by him, and that S. Athanasius was returned to Alexandria as it were in triumph, after having been so honourably restored in a Council which Eusebius himself had desired, he resolved to carry things to the utmost extremity, and to proceed boldly and openly, in order to settle Gregory in Alexandria by force, and in spite of Julius and his Council, and to ruin Athanasius. (t) The first thing that he did, was sending back the deputies that came from Julius, to whom he wrote very insolent letters in the name of his Council, (u) in which, without taking any Notice of what they themselves had done, he complains of their having cited him and his companions, and taken cognizance of a cause already determined in a Council, as if it had not been done at his instance. To this he insolently added, in order to insult him, that he ought to have written to them in another manner than he had, having contented him with writing but one letter to them all; that tho' he was Bishop

(u) Epist. Jul. apud Athanas. Apol. 2.

(o) Athan. Apol. 2. & Ep. ad Soli.

(p) Socr. l. 2. c. 11.

(q) Epist. Jul. Epiph. her. 72.

(r) Pas. lib. 7.

(s) Idem;

(t) Ex. Epist. Jul. apud Athanas. Apol. 2.

(u) Ex. Epist. Jul.

of a greater city, yet he was not greater in dignity than they; and that, after all, he ought to be informed that he should not have admitted those Bishops to communion with him, who had been condemned. After this, Eusebius went to Constantius, whom he so dextrously persuaded, that it concerned his authority to support an election of a Bishop that had been made in his presence, and in so famous a Council as that of Antioch, as well as not to suffer so bold an attempt, as that of the Bishop of Rome, in his Empire, that he gave whatever orders they desired for settling Gregory again, by main force in Alexandria. This is the way they proceeded there; and it would be difficult to find even amongst the most cruel Persecutors of the Christian name, a more barbarous act than, upon this occasion, was performed by the ministers of that Prince, or rather of Eusebius's passion.

(x) In the first place, the Emperor ordered Philagrius, governor of Egypt, to send Gregory with such troops as might procure him obedience, to take possession of the See of Alexandria. Then he commanded him not to fail of publishing his orders, and disposing every thing for settling him as soon as he should arrive there; and to punish those, who should presume to oppose it. Besides this, Philagrius was a Cappadocian of the same parts as Gregory, whom he, by no means, yielded to in villany, being a man void of honour and conscience, formerly an apostate and renegade, and still of no Religion, but more especially an intimate friend of Eusebius's, to whom he had devoted himself ever since the Council of Tyre, (y) when he received those that were appointed to oppress S. Athanasius, and conducted them himself into the Mareotis.

(z) The Emperor therefore, being solicited by Eusebius, immediately dispatched Philagrius and Gregory, accompanied by five thousand men chosen out of his troops, and commanded by one of the (a) Lieutenant Generals of his army; together with Arfacius, one of the chief Eunuchs of his palace, to put his orders in execution. (b) Philagrius, who, as they drew near to Alexandria, had gone before, published, as soon as he got thither, the letters which he had received from the Emperor in the form of an edict, by which he signified, that Gregory being canonically elected Bishop of Alexandria in the Council of Antioch, he would have him acknowledged for their lawful

(x) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(y) Epist. Syn. Alexandr. apud Athan. Apol. 2.

(z) *ibid.* l. 2. c. 8.

(a) Athan. Ep. ad Solit,

(b) Ep. ad Orthodox.

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Patriarch; and that if any opposition was made to it, they should establish him there by force of Arms, and compel the rebels to obey him. This Edict, which they did not foresee, was a thunder-clap, which so surprized all the Catholicks, who were, without comparison, the most numerous in the city, that there was a general consternation every where, as in the last extremes of a publick calamity. For it being the end of Lent, they were then not only employed in extraordinary exercises of piety by S. Athanasius's careful instructions, who assembled the people daily in the Churches, to sanctify them by the ministry of the word, and the celebration of the sacred mysteries; but they also loved him so ardently, that they could not hear this news without giving publick demonstrations of the extraordinary concern it was to them. They ran in bodies from all parts into all the Churches of the city, to beg God's assistance under this persecution. The Clergy and Monks assembled together upon this sad occasion; the Virgins, who had consecrated themselves to God, prostrating themselves before the altars, and embracing them, begged for mercy. In every place might be heard the groans and lamentable cries of those who complained of their having their Father and Pastor snatched from them, in order to throw them into the jaws of merciless wolves: That their design was to make them Arians, by sending them one of that profession from Eusebius, the wickedest amongst them. They protested before the Officers and Magistrates, that the election which had been made by violence was null and void, being contrary to all form, and a breach of all the canons and laws of the Church. In short, they called Heaven and Earth to bear witness of the injustice that was offered them, by forcing away from them their holy Bishop, who had just triumphed so gloriously over the calumny and wickedness of his enemies, and was universally approved of both by God and men. The Governor, who was enraged at their resisting him, tho' in a peaceful manner only, by complaints and tears, had a mind to be revenged on them immediately; but thinking that he was not strong enough, he stayed for the arrival of Gregory, with the Troops that attended him.

As soon as he was come, perceiving that the Catholicks did not forbear assembling in the Churches, being resolved not to communicate with the Arians, (c) he joined with Gregory's soldiers a confused

(c) *Epist. ad Solit. & ad Orthodox.*

multitude

multitude of Arians both of the country and city, which was made up of the dregs of the people, and a pack of insolent and debauched young men, mixt with Pagans and Jews, and the most wicked wretches they could find, whom he caused to be armed. Then exhorting them to behave themselves well, and promising to reward them if they performed their duty, he commanded them to go into the Churches and execute what he had ordered, as he himself did first in that where Athanasius was performing Divine service. It cannot be imagined what horrible outrages and abominable crimes were committed in this tumult, which lasted several days before the rage of the Arians and their Ministers were satisfied. These furious wretches rushing immediately into the Churches with fire and sword, committed all manner of cruelties, thefts, uncleannesses, sacrileges and impieties; some they knocked down, others they killed; throwing to the ground Layicks and Priests without distinction, treading under foot the Monks, beating them to death, and massacring them upon the spot. Some were taken prisoners, others made their escape, being covered with their blood and the wounds they had received, carrying terror and the image of death every where with them. They violently took the matrons from the rails, dragging them by the hair of the head, and they violated the virgins even in the sanctuary, the altars were profaned by various abominations; and the Jews came thither and offered innumerable insults to our Saviour Christ, renewing against him the rage and blasphemies of their forefathers. The Gentiles there sacrificed birds and fruits to their idols, and, as if the Maximins and Maximinians had again ascended the throne with all their rage and fury, there were some who endeavoured to force those whom they had taken to renounce Jesus Christ, and to offer sacrifices with them; and upon their refusal made Martyrs of them by cruelly cutting them to pieces.

In the mean time, Gregory ran about every where to animate these impious wretches, promising to reward them with the pillage of the Churches, which were afterwards all stript. At the same time he invited those that were brought to him to communicate with him and acknowledge him for their lawful Patriarch; and those who refused were almost beaten to death and loaded with irons; and to such a pitch of fury did he arrive upon finding himself abhorred by every body, that even on Good-friday he made the inhuman governor publicly whip a

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great number of people, without distinction of sex or condition, and among the rest thirty four virgins consecrated to the service of God. The Bishops themselves, who happened to be at Alexandria at that time, were not sheltered from this tempest: Some he caused to be beaten with clubs, others to be imprisoned; and that glorious Confessor of Jesus Christ, S. Potamo, a strenuous defender of the Nicene faith, received so many blows upon the head, by the command of that barbarian, that he was left for dead on the spot, and died indeed a few days after; thus receiving, by means of the fury of this impious wretch, the accomplishment of that martyrdom which the Tyrant Maximin had left unfinished, having only pulled out one of his eyes.

The great Anthony, who had foretold this terrible desolation of the Church of Alexandria two years before, wrote to the Governor to stop him, by the consideration of the judgments of God; but he was arrived to such a degree of brutality, that after having basely made a jest of that holy man, he threw his letter to an officer, whose insolence he was acquainted with, who trod it under foot and spit upon it by way of contempt, for which he was soon punished; a very quiet horse that he rode having thrown him so violently to the ground, after biting his leg, that (*) he died of it three days after.

But however Gregory and Philagrius, after all their violent proceedings, had not what they most earnestly desired, that is, they could not lay hold of St. Athanasius to put him to death, for having immediately escaped amongst the crowd, in the beginning of the tumult, he concealed himself so well during that furious tempest, that he had opportunity to give the world an account of it, in that excellent letter which he wrote to all the orthodox Bishops throughout the world, warning them not to believe any thing of what Gregory should inform them to the contrary, by those of his party, (d) or even what others should write to them in his favour, thro' fear of being ill treated by him.

(e) After this St. Athanasius fled to Rome with such of his Priests as could escape from the fury of this horrible persecution, raised against them by Eusebius, who, by a terrible judgment of God, was taken

(*) See Tillemont, T. VIII. St. Athanas. where we are informed, that this happened a little before the death of Gregory, which he places A. D. 349. (d) Athanas. Apol. ad Constantium. (e) Sozom. lib. 3. c. 7. Socr. lib. 2. c. 9.

(*) out of the world, to give an account, before the Divine justice, of the many dreadful extravagancies which were at that time committed in Egypt by his orders.

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In truth the Church by his death was delivered from the most dangerous and cruel of her persecutors, but not from the persecution itself, which lasted a long time after him, by means of the same evil spirit, with which he had inspired his disciples, who always trod in his steps.

For the Catholicks, after the death of Eusebius, resuming the liberty which they lookt upon as unjustly forced from them by him, (f) having placed Paul again in the see of Constantinople; the Arians assembling themselves immediately in S. Paul's church, there proclaimed Macedonius, who had at first set up against Paul; and in order to support their election by force, they raised such a disturbance, being resisted by the Catholicks, that the Emperor was obliged to send thither Hermogenes, who was his Lieutenant in Thrace, whom he ordered in the first place to drive away Paul, who was returned again into the city and to the Patriarchal church without his consent. But this order caused still more mischief through his ill conduct, who executed it with too much rigour, and had not the prudence that was requisite in so critical a juncture; for Hermogenes immediately going to offer violence to Paul, and drive him away by force, the people, exasperated to see that he aimed at the true orthodox pastor, and left the Wolf and Arian at quiet, rose in an instant, and ran in crowds to the Episcopal palace, resolved to die or defend their Bishop. Hermogenes, instead of dissembling, and mitigating matters as he should have done upon such an occasion, to give vent to the rage of the people, increased it still more, by causing his troops to advance and invest the Episcopal palace in order to force it. At this the people becoming furious, ran to arms in all parts of the city, and came as it were in battle-array, to attack the General himself in an house to which he had escaped, when he perceived that they were all risen against him: They surrounded it on all sides, and having broke open the doors, they entered in a furious manner and fell upon him; and after having dragged him along the ground, they cut him most cruelly into pieces. Constantius, who was still at Antioch being informed of this furious sedition, and fear-

(*) *This happened in the end of the year 341, according to Tillemont, T. VII. P. II. p. 446.*

(f) Socr. lib. 2. c. 10.

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ing left it might be attended with pernicious consequences, set out immediately on horse-back, and travelling long stages (*g*) came to Constantinople, where he found matters quieter than he had expected. But being a politick man, and likewise very timorous by nature, (*b*) he was satisfied with causing himself to be obeyed, by driving away (*) Paul, who retired to Rome as the rest had done, and (*i*) by punishing the people very slightly, considering the greatness of their crime, only depriving them of the corn which Constantine had ordered to be plentifully distributed to them every day.

In the mean time the deputies of the Bishop of Rome having returned thither, delivered him the letters from the Eusebians; and (*k*) almost at the same time those who had escaped from Alexandria, and the letters which he received from the persecuted Bishops in Egypt, informed him of the wretched state that Church was reduced to by Gregory's invasion: He was sensibly concerned at it; and (*l*) immediately called a synod of the neighbouring Bishops, after having comforted, like a father, those unhappy fugitives, whom he took under his protection, at the same time refusing to communicate with Carponas a noted Arian, whom Gregory had sent to him. (*m*) It was by the advice of this assembly that he wrote a long letter to the Eusebians, in which, after having answered all their complaints, and complained in his turn of the great desolation at Alexandria, and their violent proceedings against S. Athanasius, justifying what had been done at Rome in that cause; he represented to them, that according to the law and custom of the Church they could not depose a Bishop by their sentence, without first applying (*n*) to the holy See, to whom pertained the right of judging of what was to be done upon such important occasions. However he exhorted them very mildly and charitably to return to their duty, and did not treat them as the horrible nature of their crimes deserved, thus wisely disguising his intentions till he had prevailed with

(*g*) Socr. lib. 2. c. 10. (*b*) Ibid. c. 11. (*) See Tillemont, T. VII. P. III. p. 1247. (*i*) Id. c. 10. (*k*) Epist. Jul. (*l*) Id. *This is thought by some to have been the same Council in which S. Athanasius was acquitted, and not a second. See Tillemont, Tom. VII. Note VI. sur Jule Pape, &c.* (*m*) Concil. 3. Rom. sub Jul. Tom. I. Concil. Athan. Apol. 2. Tillemont says (from Athanasius p. 754. c.) *On plutôt le Concile l'écrivit par lui.* See Tom. VII. P. II. §. 8. (*n*) The words in S. Athanasius; (p. 753. c. d.) are, *πᾶσιν ἡμῖν*, which (according to Tillemont, &c.) relate to the whole Western Church, tho' Socr. and Sozom. interpret them differently. See Tillemont, as above.

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Constans to call a general Council as he intended to do, in which they should be obliged to give an account of their proceedings.

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The success sufficiently shewed the prudence of his conduct. (n) For the Eusebians did nothing but assemble new synods, in which, under pretence of condemning those propositions which at first had given so much offence in the matter of Arius, they established his doctrine, and destroyed that of Nice by suppressing the essential and definitive expression *Consubstantial*, which they would have nothing to do with. This is what they did again in their second assembly at Antioch, where they composed a fifth profession of Faith, a much larger than the rest, (o) which they sent into the West by four Bishops, to procure them the communion of the Western Church. (p) But it not being agreeable to the Nicene Creed, and these Bishops when summoned to condemn the heretical doctrine of Arius, having retired in a passion, it was rejected by the Bishops who were then assembled at Milan with the Emperor Constans.

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That Prince, who was entirely Catholick, and who after the example of his father Constantine the Great, adhered unalterably to the Nicene faith with all the Western Empire, would not receive the other form that was presented to him by the Bishops who were deputed by Eusebius; and he was then busy in receiving and hearing those whom Julius sent to represent to him the necessity of calling a general Council, to which the Bishops of the East as well as West should be obliged to come. For the Eusebians still refusing to come to Rome, and (†) the letters which Julius had written to them having none effect; he thought there was no means more likely to appease all these disorders than to persuade Constans to prevail with his brother Constantius to consent to the calling of a General council, in which the cause of the injured Bishops might be considered. This is what Vincent of Capua and the famous (||) Hosius, who had both been deputed from the Roman Church, (q) represented to him with the rest of the Prelates who were then at Milan. Even the Bishops that had fled to Rome were summoned thither by him, especially Athanasius, whom he greatly esteemed. He had given a favourable reception to the letters which he formerly wrote to him against the calumnies of Eusebius and his deputies; and

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(n) Athan. or. 1 contr. Ar. (o) Athanas. de Syn. Sozom. lib. 3. c. 10. (p) Epist. lib. ad Const. in calce ap. Lucif. Galarit. (†) Soz. lib. 3. c. 9. (||) See

Notes B. 1. (q) Athanas. Apol. ad Constant.

A. D. 346. having a perfect good opinion of that holy Prelate's doctrine (r) he had desired him, for his satisfaction, to send him an (s) abridgment of the Scripture, as he accordingly did. Having therefore returned to that Prince at Milan, he was received there with all possible tokens of an (t) extraordinary kindness and affection. He had the honour conversing with him frequently in the presence of other Bishops; and represented to him, in such moving terms, in what danger the (u) Faith then was in the East, by the Eusebian faction, who endeavoured to over-turn what his Father had so gloriously settled in the Council of Nice, that Constant, taking the matter to heart, procured his Brother's consent to the calling of (x) a General Council at Sardica the year following, on the day specified by Julius Bishop of Rome.

A. D. 347. Sardica was at that time a famous City, situated upon the confines of Illyria, Thrace and Mysia, at the foot of Mount Hemus, which separated it from Philippopolis, another City of Thrace. It had even been honoured with the residence of Constantine the Great, who often kept his Court there before the defeat of Licinius, as appears from several of his orders bearing date from thence. Besides, both the Emperors chose it for the holding of the Council, because lying on the boundaries of the two Empires, as it were in the center of them, it was almost equally distant for such as came either from the East or West. (y) Above three hundred Catholick Bishops came thither from above thirty five provinces, amongst whom, besides many great men, very eminent for their sanctity and learning, there were the most famous of those, who twenty two years before had assisted at the great Council of Nice. (z) There was the great Hosius, (a) who presided in this, as he had done in that Council, with Archidamus and Philoxenus, two Priests of the Church of Rome, sent by Julius their Bishop to represent him there; (b) Protogenes of Sardica was there at this time: The famous Confessor Paphnutius, whose wounds Constantine kissed at Nice, came thither also to fight again for his Master JESUS

(r) Athan. Apol. ad Const. piece. See Tillem. T. VIII. Not. 45. sur S. Athan.

(s) Bishop Usher, and others, are doubtful of this

(u) Theodor. l. 2. c. 5.

(x) Socr. l. 2. c. 16.

(t) Athan. ibid.

(y) Athan. ep. ad Solit. & Apol. 2. Socr. l. 2. c. 16. Sozom. l. 3. c. 11. Tillemont makes their number uncertain. See T. VIII. P. 1. §. 42. and P. 3. Not. 48. P. 5.

(z) Athan. ibid.

(a) See Notes in page 24, 26, and 32. Tillemont as above, and Dupin, Tom. II. p. 259. Cone. Sard.

(b) He is said to have taken place in the Council next to Hosius, and before the Roman deputies. See Tillemont as above cited.

CHRIST, even in the extremity of old age : The wonderful Spiridion, Bishop of Tremitunta, who had confounded the Philosopher in the former Council, came to this likewise, to give the last instances of his courage and zeal for the defence of the Faith. It is also said, that it was in a Synod which was held at Tremitunta upon account of this Council, that he did that remarkable action by which he shewed the great reverence he himself had and endeavoured to inspire in others for the Holy Scripture.

(c) Triphyllius, a learned Lawyer, and a great Orator, from being his Disciple was become Bishop of Ledra in Cyprus ; who preaching one day before an assembly of the Clergy, cited the passage of S. Mark, where our Saviour says to the sick of the Palsy, *Take up thy bed and walk* : In the Greek there is the word (d) *Grabbaton* ; but Triphyllius, who was one of the most eloquent men of his age, and the most polite in his language, instead of that barbarous word, used the term (e) *scimpodion*, which signifies a little bed : (f) Upon which Spiridion rising from his seat, interrupted him, saying with an air of authority mixed with an holy indignation, “ And do you think then that “ you are preferable to him that said [*grabbaton*] *κράββατον*, that you “ seem ashamed to use an expression which he hath made sacred ? ” After which he went out of the assembly, leaving them all a more useful lesson for their instruction than what they had received from Triphyllius’s sermon ; namely, that the greatest regard ought to be had to the majestic simplicity of the Scripture, and that we cannot, without a crime, change, of our own private authority, one single jot in the text thereof, under pretence of giving it a more elegant and polite turn : Triphyllius bore the confusion that he was put into by his master with abundance of humility, and went along with him to this Council, where he had the opportunity of conversing with the most learned Bishops of the West, who were come thither.

On the other side, the Eusebians came to Sardica, (g) about eighty in number ; tho’ there were some of them whom they kept only by force, causing them to be carefully watched, as it was known of two amongst them, who made their escape and came over to the Catholick side. (h) The chief of that party, who governed all the rest, were Ste-

(c) Hieron. de Script. Eccl.

(d) *κράββατον*.

(e) *σκιμπίδιον*.

(f) Sozom. l. i. c. ii.

(g) See Tillamont as above.

(h) Epist. Syn.

Sand. apud Athan. Apol. 2.

A. D. 347. phen of Antioch, Theodore of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Acacius of Cæsarea, Menophantes of Ephesus, Ursacius of Syngidon in Mysia, and Valens of Mursa in Pannonia : For George of Laodicea, who was one of the most obstinate amongst them, would not come thither, supposing, and with good reason, that they should not be masters in that Council, as they had been in that of Antioch. However, these being still in hopes of getting the better by the same means that they had often made use of, had brought with them three Counts of the Empire, whom Constantius had appointed them ; (*i*) and often consulting amongst themselves by the way, they had entered into a sort of league, by which, the rest being forced to enter into it, they were obliged all as one man not to enter into the Council with the Western Church, if any attempt was made to call them to justice, and if, in the first place, they did not turn out Athanasius and the rest of the Bishops whom they had deposed.

Finding therefore when they came to Sardica, that their party would not be the strongest ; that Constantius had ordered every thing to be transacted in the Council according to the laws of the Church ; and that there were neither Counts nor Soldiers to hinder its liberty ; that those whom they had driven from their Bishopricks were there present in order to defend themselves ; that there were people ready with authentick proofs to accuse them of various crimes, with which they were reproached by their own consciences ; (*k*) and that Asterias and Macarius, those two Bishops who had escaped out of their hands, were there ready to declare to their faces all that they had agreed upon in their cabal : In short, finding that their whole secret was discovered, they kept themselves shut up in the palace where they had at first taken up their lodgings, and protested that they could not join with the other Bishops, whilst they saw those amongst them who had been excommunicated and condemned by several Councils. (*l*) And notwithstanding all that Hosius could say to them to make them quit so groundless a pretence, and submit to the determination of an OEcumenical Council, of which they themselves would be members, and where they should have all the liberty they could desire of proposing whatever they would, whether by way of accusation or defence,

(*i*) Athan. Apol. 2. & Epist. Synod. 1. 3. c. 10. & Athan. ibid.

(*k*) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(*l*) Sozom.

they nevertheless still remained obstinate in this point. And for this reason, the Fathers having along answered, that they could not separate themselves from those who had been cleared by a (m) Council at Rome, and yet were ready to justify themselves again before them, they sent word to the Council, by a Priest of Sardica, that they had received letters from their Emperor, by which they were recalled ; and, at the same time, they withdrew to Philippopolis, on the other side of the mountain, in the territories of Constantius : But they gained nothing by their going away, for the Council continuing still firm in their resolution of making both sides submit to the judgment of the assembly, according to the intention of the Emperors, Hosius (n) wrote to them in the name of the rest, that if they did not immediately come and declare what they had to say, either against those they accused, or in defence of themselves, they should proceed to judgment, for which they could have sufficient information without them.

Accordingly, perceiving that they still refused to appear, they opened the Council, in which, after having examined S. Athanasius's cause afresh, even by the acts of the Councils of Tyre and the Mæreotis, which the deputies of Eusebius had left at Rome, he was fully cleared and restored to his See by the general applause of the whole assembly, who admired his constancy and resolution. Marcellus of Ancyra was also restored, after he had made publick profession of the Nicene Faith, and protested that he had never held the impious doctrine of Sabellius, which Eusebius had laid to his charge, that he might have a pretence for deposing him, and placing an Arian in his stead. It is true, that he has since had the misfortune to pass for a (o) Sabellian in the opinion of several great men, because on the one side the Arians spread abroad some of his writings which seemed infected with that error ; and on the other, some of his disciples openly professed it as the sentiments of their master : But there are a great many others who excuse him, and assure us that he all along steadily adhered to the confession of Faith which he made.

(m) *The French is, Ceux que le pape avoit justifiez ; by which must certainly be meant the Council of Rome before-mentioned.*

(n) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(o) Hier. de Script. Eccl. Hilar. Basil. Chrysost. Theod. See Tillamont, T. VII. P. II. Marcell. d'Ancyre.

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before the Councils both of Rome and Sardica, in which he was cleared, agreeably to what he had maintained in the Council of Nice against the Arians, whom he always lashed very sharply. However, whether he since changed or not, that signifies nothing (p) as to what the Council determined upon his profession; and whether his heart and tongue agreed or not, it is a point which we ought to leave to the determination of the searcher of hearts.

(q) The cause of Asclepas of Gaza was likewise determined in favour of that Bishop: The Eusebians had a mortal hatred to him, because, having retracted at the Council of Nice, he still resolutely refused to return to their party. For which reason having accused him of heresy, they drove him out of his Bishoprick, from whence he came to Rome to seek for justice; and having made profession of his Faith before the Council, (r) and plainly discovered the calumny of his persecutors, he was restored to his place with honour. After which, having examined the accusations and the proofs which were produced, as well by the Bishops present, as the deputies of the several Cities and Churches, against the chief of the Eusebian party, namely Theodore, Narcissus, Acacius, Stephen, Menophantus, (s) Ursacius, Valens, George of Laodicea, Patrophilus and Gregory, Basil and Quintinius, the intruders into Alexandria, Antioch and Gaza, they declared them to be excommunicate, unworthy of the name of Christians, and to have forfeited their dignities.

As to what concerned the Faith the holy Council would not meddle with it; (t) and tho' there were some that declared, and even warmly maintained that it was necessary to have a full confession of Faith, by adding something to the Nicene Creed, to give the more light to the points in dispute, yet they would not admitt of it, and made but one decree by which they declared that nothing should be added to that Confession, because it contained every thing that was necessary for comprehending the Faith and preserving true Piety. Which is the reason that that Council, tho' (u) *OEcumenical*, has not a particular place amongst the rest, having determined nothing concerning the

(p) Epiph. Hær. 72.

(q) Theod. l. i. c. 24.

(r) Epist. Synod.

(s) Athan. or. 1. contra Ar.

(t) Epist. ad Antioch.

(u) It was now

effected so by the Eastern Church; and Dupin says the Canons were not composed in the form of laws, T. XI. p. 260. See Note below.

Faith, but what that of Nice decreed, and also that the Canons of both are often (x) confounded: For there are (y) twenty-one Canons of the Council of Sardica, many of which were visibly made on account of the Arians, (z) as particularly Can. 1. against such as remove from lesser Bishopricks to greater, without the consent of the Church, as Eusebius, and those that were put in the places of the deprived Bishops had done; (a) Can. 2. against those who made no difficulty of going into other provinces, as was the continual practice of Ursacius and Valens, to have an opportunity of being with the Eusebians; (b) Can. 6. against those who ordained Bishops in little towns, where one Priest was sufficient, as was the care of Ischyra, to whom Eusebius had promised a Bishoprick as a reward for his calumny; Can. 8, 9. & seq. against those who went to Court without being sent for by their (c) Prince, or having leave from their Primate, like the Eusebians who were always amongst the Emperors attendance: But the chief and most remarkable (d) is the Canon, which decreed that if a Bishop thinks himself unjustly condemned in a Synod he may have recourse to the Bishop of Rome, *who is his lawful judge*; (e) and that which forbids another to be elected in his place till the Bishop of Rome hath pass'd sentence in the cause: (*) It is evident, that this was done in opposition to the Eusebians, who could not away with Julius's having cleared the Bishops condemned in their pretended Councils, which had placed Gregory in S. Athanasius's See, whilst he was waiting at Rome for

(x) *This Tillemont acknowledges to have been done by Leo and others, but he cannot think it was with design, tho' he does not say any thing to the contrary, since indeed it is much to be suspected.* (y) *Some copies say twenty. See Tillem. T. VIII. P. I. §. 50.* (z) *Can. 1.* (a) *Can. 2.* (b) *Can. 6.* (c) *Can. 8, 9. & seq.* (d) *Can. 3. Of this Tillemont says, C'est une matiere assez nouvelle; and that it is the fourth in Isidore. See places above cited.* (e) *Can. 4.* (*) *As to the authority of these Canons, it depends upon that of the Council, which is very much disputed. Dupin says they were never received as laws by the Catholick Church: That they were not put into the Code approved by the Council of Chalcedon; that the East never received them, neither would the Bishops of Africa own them; that the Bishops of Rome only used them, and cited them under the name of the Council of Nice, to give them weight and authority: Besides, S. Augustine seems to be ignorant of them by looking upon them as made by the Arians; and that they were not universally admitted in the West, is plain from the dispute between Hillary Bishop of Arles, and Leo of Rome. Of all which see farther Tillem. Not. 61. S. Athan. and Dupin as above, and our Bishop Beveridge, Conc. Sard.*

that Bishop's determination. This being done, the Council wrote to Julius and other Bishops, to the Church of Alexandria, and also to the Emperors, intreating them to be Protectors of the Church, and to allow it a full and entire liberty to govern the Faithful by its own laws.

(f) But whilst the holy Council was transacting these matters by the direction of the Holy Spirit, the Arians who had withdrawn themselves to Philippopolis, by the presumptuous spirit of heresy, attempted what had never before been done in the Church: For having assembled themselves as a Council, they there confirmed all that had been done against S. Athanasius and the other deposed Bishops; they excommunicated Julius Bishop of Rome, the great Hosius, Protogenes of Sardica, and Maximin of Treves, as having admitted to communion with them, those who had been lawfully separated from the Church by several Councils. They also composed there a sixth Confession of Faith, in which suppressing, and even abolishing (g) the term *Consubstantial*, they condemned all the propositions, maintained by Arius, that were scandalous and blasphemous; which they did that the world might not think them in any respect Arians, tho' by denying the Consubstantiality of the Word, they were still of Arius's opinion in their hearts, which follows necessarily from that principle. Therefore, as they rejected the conclusion, tho' they maintained the premises of his Argument, they began to form that party (h) which were since called *Semi-Arians*.

Afterwards, to give the more authority to their wretched form of a Council, they presumed to call it the holy Council of Sardica, and in this style to address (i) their synodical letters to all the Bishops in the world, it being stuffed with innumerable false assertions against Julius of Rome and the other Catholick Bishops, whom they had excommunicated, and particularly against S. Athanasius, whom they treated as the most vile and wicked man alive. And as they were exasperated against (k) Gratus Bishop of Carthage, and thirty-five other orthodox Bishops of Africa, who opposed them in the Council of Sardica, they sent their letter to Donatus of Carthage, chief of the Donatists, who afterwards made use of it to shew that his party were in communion with the Council of Sardica: (l) But S. Augustine easily discovered

(f) Socr. l. 2. c. 16. Sozom. l. 3. c. 10.

(g) Hil. lib. de Synod. & Socr.

(h) Epiph. har. 73.

(i) Hilar. Frag. l. 2.

(k) Amas. Apol. 2.

(l) Aug.

lib. 3. contr. Crescon. Cap. 34. See also Notes above.

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by the letter, which was produced to him, that that was an Arian Council: Besides as he was entirely ignorant of there having been another, which is matter of wonder, since it was known to all the world, he and the rest of the Africans of his time, have therefore, strictly speaking, had it in abhorrence, without distinguishing between the Catholick and the Arian Council of Sardica; so true is it, that the most common things, and such as every body is acquainted with, sometimes are unknown to men of the greatest wit and penetration.

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In the mean time the chief of the Arians, their council being over, set out immediately before the others, to prepossess Constantius, whom they influenced as they pleased, and whom they easily persuaded to greater acts of violence, than what had already been committed in Alexandria: (m) For to be revenged of the Bishops who had forsaken them, especially those of Thrace, the most remarkably zealous against them when they retired from Sardica, they so contrived it that Constantius having sent Philagrius, in whom they confided, to punish them, he caused several of the Clergy of Adrianople to be beheaded: (n) Lucius their Bishop he loaded with chains and sent into banishment, where he died of the hardships which he underwent; and caused Olympius of Aënz, Theophilus of Trajanople and Diodorus, to be deposed by an Imperial edict, which ordered them to be put to death in whatsoever part of the Empire they should be found. Besides they procured Macarius and Asterius, who had quitted their party, to be banished, giving orders that they should receive all manner of ill treatment whilst they were carried into banishment in the deserts of Africa; and for fear lest S. Athanasius and the Bishops, restored by the Council, should enter again into their Churches, edicts were every where published, ordering the Governors of the places to seize them if they appeared, and more particularly appointing the Magistrates of Alexandria to kill S. Athanasius and certain Priests that attended him, if they came into Egypt: In short they so cruelly oppressed those who either upbraided them with their flight from Sardica or their heresy, that a great many, to secure themselves from their fury, pretended to come over to their party.

But the arrival of Deputies from the Council, and an Ambassador from Constantius, at length put an end to the persecution.

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(m) Athanas. Ep. ad Solik.

(n) Mart. Rom. 11. Feb.

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The Council sent to that Prince (o) Vincent of Capua and Euphratas Bishop of Cologne, to (p) intreat him to restore those whom they had cleared, and Constantius sent also on his part the Priest Salianus, a man of extraordinary merit and singular piety, whom he ordered to press the Emperor his brother to cause the decrees of the holy Council to be put in execution, since they themselves had called it; to restore to their sees those who had been so unjustly driven from them; and to punish the authors of those calumnies, which had occasioned so many disorders. Constantius uncertain what to do, and being in suspense between the fear he was in of his brother, and the shame of retracting, gave no positive answer, and prolonged the affair till, by the impatience and malice of the Arians, there happened a very remarkable accident, which began very much to shake his resolution.

(q) For Stephen Bishop of Antioch, fearing the success of the Deputies negotiation, thought that it was best to be before-hand with them and ruin their reputation, in order to make their endeavours unsuccessful. To this purpose he made use of a desperate villain, the usual instrument of his wickedness, who found means during the night to bring a lewd woman into Euphratas's chamber, making her believe that she had been sent for by some young persons that were strangers. But the good old man having cried out with all his might at hearing the voice of a woman, who answered him, and whom he imagined to be a devil in disguise come to tempt him: The other Deputy and all the servants came in at hearing the noise, and seized the woman and some of the persons who had followed her in, that they might surprize and accuse the Bishop. Upon which Salianus having boldly demanded the Emperor to let justice be done by his officers for so wicked an attempt against sacred persons, who had not only the character of Bishops, but also of Ambassadors, the whole contrivance of Stephen was discovered by those that were taken, and also by the woman herself who was likewise vexed at being imposed upon. Thereupon they caused that wicked Bishop to be deposed, who after so vile an action ought no longer to hold so honourable a place; and Leontius, as bad an Arian, but one of more cunning and dissimulation, was put in his stead.

Constantius, hardened as he was in his heresy, (r) came now a little to himself, and judged it probable that this calumny, which he

(o) Athan. *ibid.* (p) Theod. l. 2. c. 9, & 10. (q) Theod. *ib.* (r) Athan. *Ep. ad Solit.*

could not doubt of, was not the first that had been made use of against those who were for the Council of Nice. And this very reasonable consideration had at least this good effect, that he immediately recalled some of the Clergy of Alexandria whom he had lately banished, at the desire of the Eusebians, and ordered the Magistrates of that great city to forbear the persecution which they were still carrying on against those who were of S. Athanasius's party. (s) But he yet deferred giving a plain answer to what Constans demanded concerning the Bishops restored by the Council. (t) For which reason, Constans, being tired and even exasperated at so many evasions, wrote to Constantius once for all, in such a manner as shewed that he would have the matter immediately determined one way or other, and he ordered his Ambassador to deliver letters to him, by which, in few words, he desired him forthwith to choose one of these two things, either to restore the Bishops, particularly Athanasius and Paul, or to prepare for war, which he would declare against him in case of a refusal, protesting that he would go himself with an army to re-establish Athanasius in Alexandria.

This resolute way of proceeding surprized Constantius, who was more of a politician than a soldier, and (u) who had a great mind to evade the matter, by protracting the time with long and useless negotiations, without coming to any conclusion. Whereupon he assembled his Arian Bishops to know what was to be done upon so extraordinary an occasion: And they, considering that Constantius was already engaged in a very troublesome war with the Persians, who had invaded Mesopotamia, and had often got the better of him; that besides, if Constans, who was a man of courage, and become much more powerful than he, since he had added his other brother's share of the Empire to his own, should also fall upon him with all the Western forces, he would be inevitably undone, together with all their sect, whom Constans held in great abhorrence; for which reason they, without consideration, advised him to have recourse to dissimulation, till a more favourable opportunity offered, and readily give his brother the satisfaction he required. There also happened an accident which forwarded the matter and confirmed the Emperor in his resolution: For he at the same time received the news of George the intruding Bishop

(s) Ibid.

(t) Socr. l. 2. c. 18.

(u) Socr. *ibid.*

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of Alexandria's (*) being killed in that city by certain persons, who were willing to take that opportunity, which they thought convenient, to revenge the outrages and cruelties which he had been guilty of, it being known every where that Constans had openly declared against him in favour of S. Athanasius.

Constantius therefore having resolved to dissemble, and to conform himself to the present occasion, gave answer to Saliannus the Ambassador, " That he desired nothing more earnestly than always to act in concert with his brother : That although they had divided the world between them, it was still but one Empire, which they ought both to govern with the same mind. (x) That as to what Constans had desired concerning the restoring of the Bishops, more especially Athanasius, it was what he himself also desired, and that it had been already done, if he had of his own accord presented himself to him to be restored : But if the apprehension, which he had been under, of not being well received, had hindered him, another method should be taken, and he would immediately give his brother all the satisfaction he desired. *In short he wrote to him,* (y) That it was in his own power, and that he might send the Bishops that were with him to their Sees whenever he pleased : That he even desired him to urge S. Athanasius, and remove all the fears which he might still be under on account of what had happened, and to assure him, on his part, that being persuaded of his innocence and his merit, he would receive him with all the honour that was due to them.

(z) At the same time he sent letters to S. Athanasius, who since the Council had retired to Aquileia, and wrote to him three several times in a very friendly manner to remove his fears, and induce him to hasten to Court, where, he told him, he should receive all the satisfaction he could desire.

In the mean time the Emperor Constans having received his brother's letters, (a) sent Paul of Constantinople and two other Bishops that were with him at Court back again to their Sees, (b) and sent word to Athanasius to come to him with all speed into Gaul, where he

(*) *Tillemont says this happened in January or February A. D. 349. T. VIII. P. II. §. 56.* (x) *Epist. Const. ad Athan. Apol. 2.* (y) *Athan. Epist. ad Solit.* (z) *Athan. Epist. ad Const. ad Solit. Socr. l. 2. c. 18. See Tillemont Tom. VIII. Note 63. sur S. Athanas.* (a) *Socr. ibid.* (b) *Athanas. Apol. ad Const.*

then was : As soon as he arrived, he shewed him Constantius's letters ; and having informed him of the true reason of that sudden alteration, he assured him that he had no reason to be afraid of him, since for the Church's sake he would always protect him against his enemies, tho' he was forced to employ all the forces of his Empire : After this, the good Patriarch having returned him all possible thanks, and implored the blessing of Heaven to reward him for his unshaken zeal and generosity in defending the Faith, (c) he set forward to return into the East. He was received at every place on his way with great tokens of esteem by all the Bishops, and particularly at Rome by Julius, who did justice to his virtue, by the extraordinary honours which he paid him, and by his commendations of him in the letter which he wrote to the Church and people of Alexandria (d) to congratulate with them upon the restoration of their Pastor, and to exhort them to receive him with all the tokens of joy and respect that were due to so great a man, the being acquainted with whom (he told them) he looked upon as a signal instance of God's favour to him. Thus S. Athanasius, loaded with honours, and attended with the applause of the Catholics in all the places through which he passed, came as it were in triumph to the Emperor Constantius at Antioch, who was there giving orders about repairing the losses which he had lately received in the war against the Persians.

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That Prince, who was not so well skilled in the art of war as in the affairs of the Court, in which Dissimulation is chiefly requisite, received the Patriarch in such a manner that those, who judge only by the appearance of things, might think him very well pleased both with his conduct and return ; and the good man, receiving those marks of his affection with the respect that was due to his Emperor, after making a profound obeisance, addressed him in this manner, " Sir, " had I not been instructed in the school of JESUS CHRIST, " and was not my master, to whom I had the honour of speaking, a " Christian Emperor, I might tell your majesty, that there is now at " your feet the most wretched, tho' the most faithful, of all your subjects and servants : There is nothing that can be imagined so intolerable not only for a Bishop, but even for the meanest of men " to undergo, that I have not suffered either in my own person, or,

(c) Athanas. Apol. 2.

(d) Athanas. ibid. Socr. ib.

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“ what is still more, in that of my friends and adherents, whom I
 “ ought to love more tenderly than my life itself. There is no sort
 “ of calumny with which I have not been aspersed by mine adver-
 “ saries. They have suborned against me lewd women, Jews, Pagans,
 “ and Schismaticks, who are my declared enemies, the testimonies of
 “ of whom, they being before bribed by them, they have made valid,
 “ without so much as giving ear to what I had to offer in my just de-
 “ fence, or receiving the undeniable proofs of my innocence : In order
 “ to ruin me, they have broken through all laws both civil and sacred,
 “ and have condemned me as a robber, a stirrer up of sedition, a mur-
 “ derer, a sacrilegious person, an enchanter and a magician ; notwith-
 “ standing the opposition that was made by those who endeavoured to
 “ hinder this injustice, and whom they restrained by force of arms.
 “ But alas ! how unhappy was I, when I saw to what a degree of mise-
 “ ry my wretched people were brought in the lamentable desolation
 “ which was made in Alexandria, where after violating the holy vir-
 “ gins, pillaging the churches, and committing many other abomin-
 “ able crimes, they had recourse to fire and sword, and all other
 “ instruments of cruelty, filling every place with blood and slaugh-
 “ ter, and trampling upon the bodies of the Priests and holy Monks,
 “ whom they had massacred, in order to set Gregory in my seat.
 “ With great difficulty did I escape out of the hands of those, who
 “ by all the murders which they committed, only sought to take
 “ away my life, had not God preserved me, after the miseries which
 “ I laboured under during my banishment, to be so happy as I now
 “ am, to discover to your majesty what, doubtless, would have been
 “ concealed from you, as being so contrary to your good disposition
 “ and intentions. But tho’ my sufferings have indeed been exceed-
 “ ing great, yet I could never think them an unhappiness, because
 “ I underwent them in a most righteous cause, even the defence of
 “ the holy Council of Nice, which I am ready to sign with my blood
 “ itself : But so far am I from complaining of my persecutors, that
 “ I am obliged to them for the Evangelical blessing which they have
 “ procured me, namely, suffering for the sake of CHRIST JESUS.
 “ However, I come to beg justice of your majesty ; but I declare be-
 “ fore-hand, that they have nothing to apprehend from what I ask ;
 “ since it is, Sir, that they, being now at Court, may immediately
 “ appear before me in your presence, and alledge to my face what
 “ they

“ they have published against me: And if they can produce one
 “ single proof against me, that is but so much as probable, not to
 “ say convincing, I am ready to renounce all the judgments that
 “ have been given in my favour, and to go into banishment of my
 “ own accord; but if I convince them of falsehood, inasmuch that
 “ they can make no reply, all the justice that I desire, and which
 “ I hope your majesty will not refuse me, is that granting them
 “ pardon, which I beg of you for them with all my heart, they
 “ may no more be allowed the liberty of raising calumnies against
 “ me in my absence.”

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(e) Tho' Constantius was not well affected to S. Athanasius, yet he appeared somewhat moved at this discourse; but finding that his Bishops would not accept the offer that was made them, he thought it sufficient to tell him a few days after, “ That it was not convenient to renew former disputes; and that what was past ought to be forgotten. That however, to shew that he would give him full satisfaction in every other particular, (f) he was not only going to settle him again in his see, as the other Bishops had been, but he would also give orders to his officers to annul in every place, and erase from the registers the acts that had been recorded against him.” This he really did soon after, and promised him even with an oath, calling God to witness to the promise which he thereupon made him, that he would no longer give ear to what might be said against him in his absence, but look upon it as a calumny. Whereupon, perceiving that the Patriarch, being very well satisfied, was going, as indeed he ought, to express his thanks, he interrupted him with saying (as had been before agreed on by his Bishops, who had advised him to it) that he would strictly and sincerely observe what he had promised him; but that he might own he had obliged him by it, (g) he had also a request to make him on his part, which he thought could not reasonably be deny'd; “ For what I have to ask, continued he, is only designed as a means to put an end to the quarrel, by taking away all matter of complaint; and that is, that you would grant one out of the great number of churches which you have in Alexandria, to those who think that they cannot in conscience communicate with you.”

(e) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(f) Socr. l. 2. c. 18.

(g) Socr. l. 3. c. 19.

A. D. 349. That I will do readily, Sir, *replies S. Athanasius immediately, with extraordinary presence of mind*: "But since there are abundance of people in Antioch who look upon it as a great crime to hold communion with those whose belief is not the same with ours; your majesty will then, I hope, for the same reason, let a church be granted to them, wherein they may have liberty to assemble."

The Emperor, surprized at this answer, to which he did not see that any objection could be made, imparted it to the Arians; but they let the matter drop, perceiving that this proposal would be most to their disadvantage, because there would be but few Arians in Alexandria as soon as Athanasius appeared there; and that all Antioch would become Catholics when their former liberty was restored to them. Thus Athanasius set forward to return to his Church, very well satisfied, and carrying with him very kind letters from Constantius in his favour. He was received in his journey with great acclamations by the people, and with a general applause by all the orthodox Bishops: Those of Palestine met in a synodical manner at Jerusalem, in order to receive him with the greater honour: Even those who had been against him (*h*) either through fear or out of regard to the Eusebians, who were at that time very powerful, came thither also, excepting Acacius and Patrophilus, now become most obstinate Arians, and some few others who were ashamed of appearing before him. Ursacius and Valens, who were some of the oldest disciples of Arius, and had always been the most zealous of his sect; (*i*) and the greatest enemies to S. Athanasius, judging, by the honours that Constantius had conferred on him, that the Arian party was ruined, wrote to him, desiring to hold communion with him; after having first asked pardon for their heresy, and the calumnies which they had been authors of, in a Synod that was then assembled at Milan. They went also and confessed their crimes before Julius the Bishop of Rome, abjuring their Arian principles, by an instrument in writing, which they presented him, in order to their receiving absolution, and to be admitted into the communion of the Church, from which they had been cut off in the Council of Sardica. In short, the Patriarch at his entrance into Alexandria, was received by all the Bishops of Egypt, who came thither to meet him, and

(*h*) Athan. Ep. ad Solit. Sozom. l. 3. c. 22.

(*i*) Athan. de Synod. Apol. 2. Epist. ad Solit.

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by all orders of people of that great city, with such testimonies of joy of all kinds, that Religion itself, in the person of that victorious Prelate, might then be said to triumph over Arianism in the very place where that heresy first began to war against Jesus Christ.

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But whilst S. Athanasius was performing so successful a journey, news arrived in the East of the terrible revolution that had happened in the West, and which in the end was the cause not only of restoring Arianism, but also of making it spread more than ever throughout the Empire.

Magnentius, General of the army in Gaul, a man of an enterprising and ambitious spirit, having won over the chief of the officers, had for some time formed a design of making himself Emperor; and he thought he could not have a more favourable opportunity than what then offered: For on the one side Constantius, being employed in the war against the Persians, (*k*) who had cut to pieces several considerable bodies of his forces, he thought he was not in a condition to come and dispute the Empire with him, when he should have usurped it from his brother; and on the other side, Constans, whom he durst not before attack, was reduced to a condition in which it was very easy to get the better of him. In truth, that Prince, who was not above thirty years old, and had always acted with a great deal of vigour and resolution before he became absolute master of the West, (*l*) was grown very remiss, whether it was that prosperity had softened him, or that the gout, with which he was often troubled, had enfeebled his mind, or that the pleasure of hunting, of which, notwithstanding his indisposition, he was passionately fond, (*m*) had made him leave off the care of business, that he might pass the greatest part of his time, as he did, in the country: (*n*) This brought him into contempt with the chief of the army, (*o*) who even thought that he was desirous of solitude to conceal the debaucheries, of which he was said to be guilty. Besides, he was not beloved by the people, whom he had somewhat over-burdened with taxes; and the soldiery, to whom he had always made himself terrible, had conceived a great hatred against him.

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(*k*) Zonar. Annal. Tom. III. Eutrop. l. 10.
(*m*) Zonar.

(*n*) Ibid. Zosim. Eutrop.

(*l*) Aurel. Victoꝝ.
(*o*) Ibid.

(*o*) On

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(*o*) On the contrary, Magnentius, who commanded the army, had it entirely at his devotion ; and besides, was chief officer of the two best legions, which were called the Jovians and Herculians, from the Emperors Dioclesian and Maximin, who had raised them, and honoured them so far, that they always served about the Emperor's Person, which they were appointed to guard, as well as the Pretorian Bands. Magnentius therefore perceiving that he should never have a more favourable opportunity, being withal secure of his party, particularly of Marcellinus Great Treasurer of the Empire, resolved to put his design in execution at Autun, where the Court then resided, whilst the Emperor was engaged in hunting. For this purpose, he made choice of the 16th day of January, on which Marcellinus, under pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, had invited all the great officers to supper. About midnight, whilst they were still at table in the height of their merriment, Magnentius pretending to have an occasion to go out for a while, went and dressed himself in the Imperial robe, and then entering into the hall where the feast was kept in this dress, with the diadem upon his head, he was immediately saluted as Emperor by the greatest part of the guests, who were in concert with him, and at the same time, by the rest, who, not having leisure to consider, or to distinguish who was on their side, followed their example.

The noise of what was done being spread both in the city and the army, all declared for Magnentius. The first thing that he did was to send, with all speed, one of the captains, in whom he most confided, with some troops of horse, to make away with Constantine, who having had timely information of it whilst he was hunting, (*p*) fled with the few guards that attended him : But the officer till following him by the track, pursued him so closely, that he came up with him at last on the frontiers of Spain near the castle of Elna, which was formerly called Helena from the name of his grandmother, where he endeavoured to save himself ; and he was there barbarously murdered, as had been expressly ordered by the tyrant. (*q*) It is said that Constantine the Great having consulted the horoscope of that Prince at his birth, the astrologers fortetold him that he should enjoy an happy but a short life, and die in the bosom of Helena :

(*o*) Zosim. l. 2.

(*p*) Aurel. Viét.

(*q*) Zonar. Tom. III.

This, as is observed before, was the name of his grandmother, and that Princess dying six or seven years after this prediction, Constantine imagined that his son had escaped the misfortune that threatened him, but he met it in this place: Thus verifying the prophecy in a different manner than was expected, as it usually happens, through a doubtful equivocation and turn of expression, which rarely fails of being pernicious to those, whose dangerous curiosity emboldens them to invade God's prerogatives, by desiring to know the secrets of what is to come. Thus unfortunately fell Constantine in the flower of his age, whilst, with more zeal even than his father, he still caused the Christian Religion to flourish in the West, and in the East protected it against the attempts of his brother, and the assaults of Arianism; which may serve to instruct Christians that the judgments of God are past finding out, and that we ought not to determine of the truth and falsity of a Religion from the good or bad success of those that profess it? Since Constantine, a most zealous Catholic, lost both his Empire and his life by the treachery of Magnentius; and Constantius, the defender of the Arians, having overcome that tyrant, obtained the Empire of the whole world.

Magnentius having destroyed his master by the horrible parricide that has been related, without difficulty made himself master of both the Gauls, where he was acknowledged for Emperor; and as he was passing the Alpes with the best part of his army, in order to take possession of the rest of the Empire, he was informed that his example had been followed by one who was a very dangerous rival to him: (r) This was Vetricius, the oldest of the Roman commanders, who had always been very successful in war, even to a very old age, to which he had attained with a great deal of glory, being as much loved as respected by his soldiers, because he was of an agreeable temper, good humoured, civil, obliging, and affable, but more especially because he affected the ancient probity and simplicity of the old Romans, whose virtue as well as appearance he was master of; but withal was so illiterate, that he was forced to learn to write his name in order to sign it, when the legions which he commanded in Illyricum had proclaimed him Emperor, as they did of Sirmium, on the first day of May, not enduring that the army in Gaul

(r) Victor. Eutrop. l. 10. Zosim. l. 2. Sozom. l. 4. c. 1.

A.D. should assume the privilege of making an Emperor without them.
 350. As the pretence of revenging the death of Constans seemed very plausible, to cover his ambition, which old age had not entirely extinguished in him, he made no difficulty of accepting that honour, and wrote very artfully to Constantius, that he only pretended to accept it, in order to be revenged on Magnentius, who by all means intreated him to come and join forces, that they might attack his majesty before he had time to get more forces together: However, he assumed the Imperial robe, and the title of Augustus; so difficult is it to withstand the temptation of a crown, tho' death is ready to snatch a man away at the same time.

Nor was he the only person that suffered himself to be allured by such tempting charms, for Nepotion, son of Eutropia, Constantine's sister, thought that proximity of Blood gave him a right to claim the throne, and to succeed Constans; but if he wanted not courage for so great an undertaking, he was not master either of forces or conduct enough to be successful in it. (s) Having got together in haste a disorderly company of vagabonds, thieves, and gladiators, he came in the beginning of June, clothed in the Imperial robe, before Rome, where was his mother, and several persons of distinction, not questioning but they were on his side. It is certain, that at first he had the better of some bands of citizens, whom the Prefect of Rome, appointed by Magnentius, led against him; but Marcellinus, who was come down into Italy with Veteran Troops inured to war, having speedily come to the relief of the Prefect, (t) cut all his party in pieces, and killed him upon the spot, twenty-eight days after he had taken upon him the title of Emperor. Marcellinus, after having caused his head to be carried thro' the City on the top of a lance, (u) put to death his mother Eutropia, with all those whom he thought had been of his party; amongst which there were several pious people who had entertained S. Athanasius at Rome.

Constantius having received information of all these accidents almost at the same time, was at a very great streight, because of the war with the Persians, for which all his forces together were hardly sufficient. (x) There were nevertheless some of his Arian

(s) Eutrop. Zosim.
 (x) Socr. l. 2. c. 21.

(t) Eutrop.

(u) Athan. Apol. ad Constant.

Bishops, who, regarding nothing but satisfying the particular enmity which they had against S. Athanasius, endeavoured to asperse him with fresh calumnies, imagining that Constans being dead, there was nothing now left to hinder Constantius to rid himself of a man, whom they knew very well he had received only out of the apprehension that he was under of his brother: But the Emperor, who was a politick man, and more discerning than they, would not in so critical a juncture run the hazard of exasperating the people of Alexandria, who were naturally mutinous, and might draw away all Egypt, and engage them in Magnentius's interest. For which reason, thinking it was necessary to dissemble till the war was finished, he wrote to S. Athanasius in a very courteous manner upon the death of Constans, which he rightly judged would affect him very sensibly, (y) and intreated him to be under no apprehensions, assuring him, which he repeated three times, that he would always protect him. He also sent orders to his lieutenants in Egypt to prevent any person from disturbing him; and more especially that Philip, who of all Constantius's officers was the greatest, most implacable, and cruel enemy to the Catholics, might not attempt any thing against him.

But being under no fear of what might happen at Constantinople, of which he was very secure, he did not treat Paul, whom Constans had caused to be restored to his see after the same manner; (z) for some time after his brother's death, he sent thither that very Philip, with orders to drive him away, and put Macedonius again in his place. Philip, tho' of a bold and resolute disposition, calling to mind the fate of Hermogenes, whom the people had torne in pieces upon a like occasion, found means to get the Bishop out of the city, to an house not far from the sea side, under pretence of having some business of moment to discourse with him about; and having there shewn him the Emperor's orders, he immediately put him on board a small vessel, which lay ready, to convey him to Thessalonica. This done, taking Macedonius in his chariot with him, surrounded by a body of Veteran soldiers, he carried him into his Church, as it were in triumph, through a vast number of people, who were got together to see this sight, which was unexpected. And as the people being pushed by the soldiers in order to make

(y) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.
c. 5. & l. 4. c. 2.

(z) Socr. l. 2. c. 12. & c. 30. Sozom. l. 3.

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way, could not go back, but the foremost being drove forward by those that were behind, returned again as it were in shoals upon the chariot; the soldiers, thinking that they were going to assault their captain as they had Hermogenes, fell so furiously, sword in hand, upon the crowd, who were unarmed and in disorder, that above three thousand of them were either massacred or stifled in the throng, as they were endeavouring to get away, which could not be done in such a terrible confusion.

But this was only the prelude to that bloody tragedy which was afterwards acted in Constantinople, where Macedonius exercised all manner of cruelties upon all the friends of Paul, and upon those who, professing the Nicene Faith, refused to communicate with him: Nay, the excess of his fury was such, as the most cruel persecutors of Christianity had never thought of. In short, after making use of all the most horrid kinds of punishment, he was so very barbarous as to cause the breasts of women of condition to be burnt, by applying to them red-hot eggs; others were cut off by degrees, being squeezed between two boards. After having thus cruelly treated the flock, in the next place Philip fell to work upon the shepherd, whom he had sent to Thessalonica: For having changed the place of his banishment three or four times, he conducted him himself to Cuculus in Cappadocea, which lies amongst the deserts of Mount Taurus, (a) where he kept him six days in prison, without giving him any thing to eat; and at last being vexed that hunger had so long delayed putting in execution the sentence of death, which he had already passed against that good old man, he became executioner of it himself, by strangling him with his own hands.

On the other side, Acacius of Cæsarea, who, not being willing to conform to the Semi-Arians, was become chief of all that openly professed Arianism in the grossest manner, used his utmost skill to settle matters again in the same state that they were in before the Council of Sardica. For this purpose, (b) after the death of Maximus Patriarch of Jerusalem, a great defender of the Nicene Faith, seized that Church, by causing it to fall into the hands of the Arians. He also drew Ursacius and Valens into his party, who, to hide the shame of their inconstancy, or rather apostacy, reported every

(a) *Athen. Ep. ad Solit.*

(b) *Hier. in Chron.*

where (c) that the Emperor Constant, much against their will, had forced them to do what they had done both at Rome and Milan; and he so cunningly managed Constantius by his agents that were about him, that he exasperated him more than ever against S. Athanasius, by bringing him under suspicion of holding a correspondence with Magnentius, as tho' he had made a sort of association for him, by procuring the subscriptions of above four hundred Bishops, under pretence of being admitted to communion with them. So that that Prince, forgetting the many promises which he had made, and confirmed by an oath, never to give ear again to any thing against him in his absence, resolved to destroy him as soon as he should have finished the war which he was then about; for the Persians, after having raised the siege of Nisibis, had withdrawn themselves, in order to go and put a stop to the (d) Massagetes, who had invaded their territories.

Upon this, Magnentius, being afraid lest he should be attacked by all the forces of the East before he was sufficiently established in his new Empire to make any resistance, sent to desire peace of Constantius, by a pompous Embassy, the chief of which (e) were two holy Bishops, Servatius of Tongres, and Maximin of Treves, with two Counts of the Empire, Clemens and Valens; and as in their way they passed by Alexandria, S. Athanasius, who, during his banishment, had received so many civilities from Maximin at Treves, thought himself obliged to entertain them in the best manner he could, as accordingly he did, by giving them all possible demonstrations of his esteem and gratitude, and of the regard he had for their merit. This gave some colour to the calumny of those who insinuated as if he had concerted matters with the Usurper's Ambassadors against the Emperor's service, to whom the two Bishops before-mentioned, (apprehending the mischiefs of a civil war, and the spilling of Christian blood) made Magnentius's proposals, (f) who offered to acknowledge him for his superior in dignity, provided he left him the government of that part of the Empire of which he had taken possession; but in the mean time, he sent to sollicite Vetrician to join with him against the common enemy.

(c) Athan. *ibid.*
Constant.

(d) Zonar. Tom. III.
(f) Zonar.

(e) Athan. *Apol. ad*

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Constantius, who suspected Magnentius's intentions, rightly concluded, (g) that the only way to secure himself, was to be beforehand with the Usurper in this particular, and get over Vetranio to his side, that he might not have to deal with two enemies at the same time, whom he might more easily defeat one after the other. He therefore pretended to approve of all that had been done by the latter in Illyricum, in conformity to what he himself had wrote to him when he accepted the Empire; and he so artfully insinuated to him, by his Ambassadors, that that was the way to support himself in his new acquired dignity, promising withal to make him his colleague: (h) That Vetranio, who was far more mistrustful of Magnentius than Constantius, declared for the latter; whereupon the Emperor being secured from that quarter, and from the Persians, assembled together all his forces, (i) amongst whom he would admitt none but Christians, dismissing all those who refused to be baptized, tho' he himself still deferred receiving Baptism. Afterwards, as he had no children, and had a mind to provide a successor to his Empire in so dangerous a juncture, (k) he constituted his cousin Gallus, Cæsar, to whom he gave his own name Constantius, and left him in his stead at Antioch, to take care of the East in his absence. After this was done, he came, by long stages, and joined Vetranio's army, which was come from Sirminn, the capital of Pannonia, and had taken possession of an advantageous post at Mursa, a city of the same province, near the streight where the Drave empties itself into the Danube.

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(l) When the armies were joined, the two Emperors having mounted the same tribunal to harangue the soldiers, Constantius spoke first, as being the oldest in dignity; and after having bewailed the misfortunes of his family, and the lamentable death of Constans, under whom they had gained so many glorious victories, he represented to them, in so graceful and lively a manner, the many obligations they were under to his father Constantine the Great, of whose memory they were extremely fond; and he reminded them, in such moving terms, of the promises they had so often made, always to protect his children, even at the hazard of their lives, that the whole

(g) Ibid.

(k) Sgzom. l. 5. c. 18.

(h) Zonar. Zosim. l. 2.

(l) Zosim.

(i) Theod. l. 3. c. 3.

army, whose chief officers he had before been secretly tampering with, cried out at once that they would acknowledge no other Emperor but him. (m) Vetranio, who was very much surprized at this, finding that he had not a moment to loose, and that they were going to pull him by force from the tribunal, (n) wisely prevented it by a timely submission; therefore, throwing himself at Constantius's feet, after having first stripped himself of the Imperial robe, he yielded up again to him both his fortune and his power, upon which, the better to gain the affection of the army, by a specious appearance of clemency to an old man, of whom he was sufficiently secure, upon account of his great age and near approach to death, Constantius rose up and gave him his hand; and after having made him sup with him, he promised to give him where withal to pass the rest of his days in honourable ease, as accordingly he did at Prusa in Bithynia, where so great a revenue was allowed for his maintenance, as enabled him to live after a princely manner.

Constantius, very well pleased at so successful a beginning, having left the army under the command of his lieutenants to refresh themselves in good winter quarters, went to pass the winter at Sirmium, a large and beautiful city, not far from the Save, of which Photinus was Bishop. He had been scholar to Marcellus of Ancyra, who valued him mightily upon account of his extraordinary endowments. (o) To say the truth, he had a great deal of wit and learning; was eloquent, and wrote very elegantly both in Greek and Latin; by which means having acquired abundance of reputation, he was promoted to the Bishoprick of Sirmium with uncommon applause, by all the city: But as he was for diving farther than is allowable into the mysteries of Christianity, and examining it upon philosophical principles, he soon run into the error of Sabellius, who denied the Trinity, and that of Paulus Samosatenus, who alledged that JESUS CHRIST was a mere man, and that the Word (or λόγος) had not taken the humane nature upon him; so that from these two errors he composed a new heresy, which is the same that Faustus Socinus of Sienna has revived in our days.

Photinus, when he was first made a Bishop, appeared to be a Catholick for some time; but when he thought himself sufficiently settled

(m) Eutrop. l. 100.
Hæres. c. 16. Epiph. Hæres. 51.

(n) Zonar.

(o) Vincent. Lyr. cont.

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to become the head of a party, he openly published his blasphemous tenets, and was not without followers, which made a great noise every where. Whereupon the Arian Bishops, that they might have the credit of condemning this heresy, and make the world believe that they were zealous defenders of the honour of JESUS CHRIST, persuaded Constantius to call a Council, in which the doctrine of Photinus might be examined. This was that famous council of Sirmium consisting of Arians, (p) who therein composed a seventh confession of Faith, which contained twenty-seven Anathemas against the Photinian heresy; (q) and in which they seem to come nearest the Nicene creed, and to be very far from Arianism, excepting that they therein all along omitt the term *Consubstantial*, and do not assert That *the Word was not made*. Afterwards they deposed Photinus from his Bishoprick, offering nevertheless to restore him, if he would abjure his heresy: But so far from doing it he gave a challenge to the ablest amongst them, which was accepted by Basil of Ancyra; the same who some time after became chief of the Semi-Arians, and who at that time, to his great credit, got the better in the dispute, having confounded his adversary, who boasted that he could prove his doctrine by an hundred plain passages of Scripture.

(r) In the mean time, the Usurper Magnentius, who had secured Rome, and made himself master of all Italy and Africa, was so little surprized at Vetranio's army joining with that of Constantius, whose weakness he knew, that he resolved to be beforehand with them, and come and attack them as far as Sirmium. For this purpose, having first created his brother Decentius Cæsar, and sent him into Gaul to secure a retreat, he came down into Illyricum, where every thing gave way to him. From thence having passed over into the second Pannonia, between the Rivers Drave and Save, where Constantius's army lay, he had at first some advantage over them, having drawn a party of it into an ambuscade, where they were defeated. Constantius, being either surprized at that first stroke, or having a mind to amuse the enemy and prolong the war, sent to him Philip, that violent Arian, who had lately committed the horrible massacre at Constantinople, in restoring Macedonius, but who, however, was a good soldier. What he proposed was favourably accepted by the

(p) Athan. lib. de Synod. Hilar. lib. de Synod. See Tillemont, Tom. VI. P. II. p. 190. & P. III. Note 41.

(q) Socr. l. 2. c. 25.

(r) Zosim.

whole army, who thought it very advantageous to Magnentius, to whom, upon condition he surrendred Italy, it left all the rest of the Western Empire. But tho' at first he seemed to accept this offer, and to yield to the inclination of his soldiers, he that night gained over to him all the officers, whom he sumptuously entertained at supper; so that the next day, when he harangued the army, and observed to them that they had not made him Emperor, but to extirpate from the earth those two brothers who tyrannized over them; and that the most valiant being already dispatched, the other who durst not so much as shew himself, was above half overcome already; they all cried out that he should continue the war, and that they would either die or make him sole master of the Empire.

Magnentius, willing to take advantage of the zeal of his soldiers, sent Titian, a senator of Rome, into the camp of Constantius with the most bold and impudent answer, that could be given, to what had been proposed to him by Philip, whom he nevertheless kept with him as an hostage. That Prince, who was not willing to hazard a battle in a mountainous country, very inconvenient for his horse, and in those streights where he had been worsted, was encamped between Sirmium and his enemy, at a place called (1) Cibalis, a very strong town, situated upon a mountain, which he had joined to his camp by strong entrenchments, and by deep ditches on the side, which was not surrounded by the river, where he had a bridge of boats, which he could break and set together again at pleasure; so that it was not possible either to force or starve him out. It was in this place, whilst he was treating his principal officers at the Imperial tent in the midst of the camp, which seemed like one of the finest cities in the world, that Titian, after having upbraided him with his bad government, told him from Magnentius, that, so far from yielding him any thing, he ordered him to give up the Empire immediately; and that he did a great deal in granting him, as he then did, security for his life. To this Constantius replied, without any concern, That he hoped God would revenge the horrid parricide which he had been guilty of in the person of Constans; and in order thereunto, he would attack him with those brave men that were with him, and were fully resolved never to leave him in so just an undertaking:

(1) *In the Sclavonian language Siabou.*

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After he had said this, he sent him back to carry his answer to the Usurper ; but however kept still close within his camp.

Magnentius, who was apprehensive least in time they should corrupt his soldiers, as well as those of Vetrano, tried all means to draw the Emperor out of his camp, that this weighty affair might be speedily decided by a battle. He therefore vigorously attacked (t) Siscia upon the Save, and took it by storm ; he pillaged all the country round Cibalis ; made himself master of most of the places both above and below the river ; and after several skirmishes, in which the victory fell sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, he had the confidence even to attack Sirmium : But finding it stoutly defended , and that he could not continue long between so great a city and the enemies camp, he suddenly turned towards the left, passed the Drave, and went to besiege Murfa ; the conquest of which would have made him master of the higher Pannonia, and all the country from the Danube to the Alpes. Then Constantius, who on one side was desirous to prevent the taking of that place, and on the other perceived that he should be freed from the mountains, in an open country, where he might spread his troops, and engage all his horse, went directly to Magnentius, who came to meet him without delay, and then they were forced to come to a general engagement, (u) which happened on the twenty-eighth of September, in the plains of Murfa, within sight of the city.

There were in Constantius's army (*) fourscore thousand men, the greatest part of whom had lost a great deal of their former reputation and courage, having been often worsted in the war with the Persians. Magnentius had no more than thirty-six thousand, but they were the best troops of the Empire, which had been long victorious both in Gaul and Germany. It is said, that whilst the two armies were in sight of each other, and the timorous were already giving way, that (x) Constantius, having either considered that even the victory itself would not but be of ill consequence to him, since it must needs be attended with a great deal of blood, or rather being afraid, for he was never thought to be very courageous, had still a mind to treat of peace ; and that not being practicable, he

(t) *In the Slavonian Kouvaez, in the freight were the river Colapis (now Onivizze) runs into the Save.*

(u) *Idat. in Fast.*

(*) *Zonar.*

(x) *Zosim.*

BOOK III. *The History of ARIANISM.*

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retired into a neighbouring Church. (y) with Valens Bishop of Mursa, who was an Arian, to wait the issue of the battle. This raised the courage of Magnentius, who fought very bravely at the head of his army, and had at first some advantage over that of Constantius; but the valour and experience of the commanders, sustained it so well, and revived the courage of the soldiers, that none ever fought more valiantly, or rather more furiously, than upon this occasion, when even the darkness of the night could not part those that were engaged, who were killed on both sides without seeing one another, being resolved not to retreat a step, till at length the lesser number being over-powered by the greater, quitted to Constantius's army a victory, which began the ruin of the Empire.

Indeed as all that fought were Romans, there was a great slaughter on both sides, and as the bravest, especially of the great Officers, were almost all killed therein, the forces of that great Empire were so much weakened by this terrible blood-shed, that they could not recover again, time enough, to oppose the Barbarians, who made frequent inroads into the Empire, and at last tore it to pieces. There remained dead on the spot, on Magnentius's side, twenty-four thousand men, who made their enemies pay very dear for their lives, having killed thirty thousand of the army of Constantius, who, during the slaughter, was discoursing with his Arians in the Church before-mentioned, (z) where Valens of Mursa, by a notable deceit, obtained more power over him than ever.

He had ordered a person, whom he could depend upon, to come and give him the first notice of the success of the battle, without being perceived by any body; which being dexterously performed, by the help of the night, and the messenger immediately retiring, without discovery, Valens came, as from prayer, and told the Emperor that he brought him the joyful news of his army's having gotten the victory, for which he returned thanks to God. That Prince, surprized to hear him speak so positively of a thing which he could not be informed of but by the assistance of some other person, asked him where was the author of that report, and ordered him to bring him in. Then Valens, with his eyes cast down, and pretending, by a feigned modesty, as if he was unwilling to declare it, told him that he had been informed of this by other assistance than that of men, even

(y) Sever. Hist. l. 2.

(z) Ibid.

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from God himself, who had given him this victory as a reward for his zeal for the true Religion, from whom, he assured him, that the enemies army was entirely routed. Upon which, the Emperor, who soon after received the confirmation of this joyful news, by those who came from the victorious army, conceived so great an opinion of the sanctity of this hypocrite, that he for ever after gave ear to him as an oracle, declaring to every body that it was through the merits of Valens, and not by the power of his arms, that he had vanquished the Usurper.

Without doubt, this was a great weakness in Constantius, who, in other respects, did not want good sense, to suffer himself to be so easily imposed upon by so palpable a cheat: But it must be confessed, that this is an error, which it is much more easy to ridicule in another, than to avoid when it happens to be our own case: For it has been observed in all ages that are past, by various examples, and will, no doubt, be seen by as many hereafter, that of all sorts of deceivers there is none whom we are less guarded against than cheats and impostors in devotion.

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(*) The next day, when the Emperor beheld the field of battle covered all over with dead bodies, he could not refrain from tears; but he comforted himself with the hopes of being master of the world in a very little time: For being more skilled in the art of making advantage of than gaining a victory, he sent the best of his troops in pursuit of Magnentius, who having escaped by means of the darkness, retired into Italy, and afterwards into Gaul, to try to repair his loss with the forces of his brother Decentius. But finding that Constantius's lieutenants pursued him very closely, and that every body forsaking him, went and surrendered to the conquerors; and that his very guards watched an opportunity to secure his person, he was so apprehensive of falling alive into the hands of Constantius, whom he had so grievously offended, that he run himself through the body at Lyons, whither he had escaped after his last defeat; and Decentius, having heard this melancholy news at Sens, where he was raising forces to come to succour his brother, hanged himself in despair. Thus the whole Roman Empire, united into one government, was brought under the power of Constantius.

(*) Zonar.

THE



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OW fatal soever the victory, lately gained by Constantius, was to the Empire, by the loss of those forces, which were the principal support thereof, much more fatal did it prove to Religion, which soon after was grievously oppressed by the Arians, whom this victory established in the West. That heresy, during the reign of Constantius, durst never appear beyond the limits of Constantius's dominions: Nay, even in the East, it had not full liberty to exercise its fury, being restrained both by the power and valour of Constantius, who, having so openly declared himself the Protector of the Faith, established by the Councils of Nice and Sardica, was like an insurmountable bank, which stopped their

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furious torrent from spreading any farther: But, as when a bank is once broke through, the water suddenly pours in with so much the greater impetuosity and fury for having been longer forced back; so the Arian impiety, having nothing to stop it, and being supported by the sovereign power of Constantius, extended immediately from East to West, and caused more terrible disorders in both parts of the Empire than had before been committed, in the height of its fury. For, before the death of Constantine the Great, it durst never appear even in Arius and Eusebius themselves, but under the form of the true Religion, and by pretending at least to sign the Nicene Creed. After that great Prince's death it appeared but by halves, being content with suppressing the term *Consubstantial*; and the Arians hitherto declared, in their Councils, that they, by no means, held the doctrine of Arius; against which they made no difficulty of pronouncing many Anathema's. But after the defeat of Magnentius, Arianism, being supported by the power and authority of an Emperor, who had now nothing more to fear, boldly threw off the mask, and appearing openly, and without disguise, such as it was from its beginning, obliged every one, like a conqueror, to receive its doctrine. We shall, in the next place, shew the causes, effects, and progress of this great evil.

Constantius's enemies being now all removed out of the way, and all the Provinces voluntarily submitting to his authority, he began to think that his success was owing to his having embraced the Arian Faith, which he called the true Belief of the Church. The truth is, that ever since his victory he usually said that God had openly declared for the Faith and Doctrine of the Arians; for though he maintained it, as he then did, God had nevertheless continually showered down his blessings upon him, and had given him the Empire of the world. This, sometime after, induced Lucifer of Cagliari, one of the most famous men of his time, who had an extraordinary strength of genius, to write against him his book of apostate Kings, wherein he shews him the vanity and weakness of his false way of reasoning, by the example of impious and wicked Kings, whom God hath often borne with, and even placed in a state of happiness here, according to the notion of the world, in order to punish them the more severely, by means of their mistaken prosperity. And as Constantius

tius had neither greatness of soul nor strength of mind sufficient to bear his good fortune, and resist the agreeable poison of flattery, which he sucked in with pleasure, (a) he was so lifted up with pride, and so transported with vanity, that he not only permitted the Arians to (b) give him the glorious title of *Eternal*, which he disputed giving to the Son of God, but assumed it also himself in his letters and other publick writings: So that exalting himself above every thing, he kept measures no longer with any one; and even in sacred matters made his will the only rule to go by. The Arians, judging by the disposition of mind that he was now in, that there was nothing which he would not do for them, thought it a fit opportunity to get him to do something extraordinary, to establish their Sect in the West, by condemning S. Athanasius, which the Bishop of Rome had lately refused them.

This Bishop was Liberius, who had succeeded Julius the year before. The Arian Bishops having been ill treated by Julius, who protected S. Athanasius, sent to Liberius to desire him to receive them to Communion with him, and to exclude Athanasius, who had so long disturbed the peace of the Church, and was the sole cause of the division between the East and West; charging him likewise with many other calumnies. (c) S. Athanasius, who foresaw this storm, had also assembled a Synod of sixty-five Bishops of his Patriarchate, who wrote to Rome in his favour. (d) Liberius having examined the matter in a Synod, peremptorily refused the Arians what they demanded; but for fear of irritating Constantius, who, it was not doubted, would exert himself upon this occasion, they resolved to send, in a submissive manner, to desire that a general Council might be called at Aquileia, as he had given them reason to expect, in order to make a Canonical decision of all matters, by the common consent of the two Churches of the East and West.

The Arians being exasperated by this refusal, stirred up, more than ever, the mind of Constantius against S. Athanasius. They had already brought him under suspicion of holding intelligence with Magnentius. To this they added, "That he bore a mortal hatred" to his Prince; that he continually sought, by all possible means, to

(a) Zosim. l. 2. Amm. Mar. l. 15. (b) Athan. lib. de Synod. (c) Epist. l. ad Const. & ad Hesium. (d) See Tillemont, (T. VIII. P. I. §. 64.) who places these transactions A.D. 352.

"destroy

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“ destroy him : That it was he who had corrupted the mind of Con-
 “ stans, and had induced him to write that insolent letter, in which
 “ he threatned to declare war against him, if he did not immediate-
 “ ly restore Athanasius to his Bishoprick : That a more intolerable
 “ affront could not be offered to a Prince ; and that for a subject
 “ to return after such a manner, with threatnings, and sword in
 “ hand, was trampling upon the sovereign authority : That whilst
 “ Athanasius reigned in Alexandria, from whence he governed the
 “ See of Rome at his pleasure, Constantius, notwithstanding his hav-
 “ ing conquered the tyrant Magnentius, could not be said to be
 “ master of the West : That not only the Religion, which he pro-
 “ fessed, would be counted an heresy and an impiety, but he him-
 “ self also would be had in abhorrence of his subjects, as one that
 “ was excommunicated, as well as his Bishops : That thence-for-
 “ ward his government would never be well settled, and his sub-
 “ jects would have a specious pretence for rebellion upon every oc-
 “ casion : That it very much concerned him to strike at the root
 “ of so great an evil, by uniting all men in the same Communion, and
 “ leaving no room for such pretences : That there was nothing want-
 “ ing to that end, but to oblige the Western Bishops to subscribe
 “ to the condemnation of Athanasius, who was so often already ex-
 “ communicated by the holy Councils of Tyre, Jerusalem, Antioch,
 “ Constantinople, and Sardica : That that being done, and the only
 “ obstacle to their Priestly union taken away, all the West would
 “ join in Communion with the East : And that God having united
 “ both into one Empire, under his command, and having given
 “ him power and strength sufficient to exact obedience, he ought to
 “ employ them for the establishing, by his authority, the true Reli-
 “ gion which God had so plainly shewed his approbation of by the
 “ late victory.

Constantius being persuaded by this discourse, and resolving to
 omitt nothing that might establish his heresy, especially by the de-
 struction of S. Athanasius, who was a scourge to it, he assembled at
 Arles, where he had passed the winter, all the Arian Bishops that
 were at Court, and some others of the West, whom fear, and a com-
 pliance with their new master, had already induced to communicate
 with them. The condemnation of Athanasius was a matter of no
 great difficulty with that Council ; it past almost every voice, the

Arians

Arians prevailing over the rest ; and all the Bishops were ordered not hold Communion with him ; and at the same time, to give the more force to this decree of the Synod by his authority, the Emperor published an Edict, (e) by which all the Prelates were commanded to subscribe to this condemnation, under pain of banishment. Upon this, the deputies of the Bishop of Rome, Vincent of Capua, and Marcellus another Bishop of Campania, coming thither to desire a general Council, the condemnation of Athanasius was offered them to sign ; and they received no other answer. They alledged that it was requisite first to decide the point in question, in a free and general Council, where what was necessary to be believed, in respect of Faith, ought to be examined : But the Arians, who had no mind to come to this examination, which could not be for their advantage, (f) still demanded to have the condemnation of Athanasius subscribed to, before they proceeded to any other business.

(g) The deputies, in hopes to avoid this, by proposing a matter which would perplex them, replied, that they were ready to consent to this condemnation, provided that, according to the Council of Nice, they condemned the doctrine of Arius : But after this proposition had been debated, it was peremptorily answered, that they could not condemn Arius ; but that it was absolutely necessary to condemn Athanasius. (h) At length they pressed them so earnestly, both by intreaties and threatnings, proceeding even to ill language and abuses, that (i) Vincent of Capua, the same who, at the Councils of Sardica and Rome, had openly acknowledged S. Athanasius's innocence, and the purity of his Faith, having acquitted him as judge, basely yielded and signed his condemnation, under pretence of sacrificing him to the peace of the Church ; not considering, or at least not being willing to consider, that that great man's cause being inseparable from the Faith, which he defended, to separate from Communion with him, in order to communicate with the Bishops at Arles, would, to the great scandal of many, give room to believe that they had embraced their Faith. For which reason, a great many of the Western Bishops would never subscribe to it, viz. (k) Paulinus, suc-

(e) Sever. Hist. l. 2.
ap. Lucif. Cal.

(f) Ibid.
(h) Athan. Ep. ad Const.

(g) Lib. Epist. ad Const.
(i) Lib. Epist. ad Hosium.

(k) Sever. l. 2. A.G. Maxim. apud Sur. 18 Nov.

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cessor to S. Maximin at Treves, and Lucius Bishop of Mayence, who were punished with banishment, which this last finished by a glorious martyrdom, being there strangled by the Arians.

(*l*) This was the beginning of that bloody persecution, which the whole Church suffered, and which was foretold by that miraculous cross of light that appeared in the Sky over Jerusalem this year, on (*m*) Whitfunday, about nine of the clock in the morning, and extended from Mount Calvary to the Mount of Olives; as if, whilst Constantius, who reigned on earth, set up the Arian standard, in the war which he declared against the Son of God, the same JESUS CHRIST reigning in Heaven, had a mind to display the standard of the cross, to encourage his soldiers to fight manfully, suffering even martyrdom, in defence of his Divinity.

Liberius having heard the sad news of his being deserted by his deputies, was ready to die with concern. He was at a loss how to remedy an evil, that was so scandalous to the Church, and so dangerous in its consequences; (*n*) for almost all the Bishops of Italy followed his example, not thinking themselves more obliged to keep their ground, than one of so great reputation, as this deputy. But whilst he was in this distress, God comforted him by the arrival of that famous Bishop, Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, who seeing the importance of the affair, and that the Arians designed to establish their heresy, by condemning S. Athanasius, voluntarily offered himself to go in his name to Constantius, and endeavour to ward off the blow that threatened them, by shewing the necessity of assembling a general Council upon this occasion, if he really desired the peace of the Church as he pretended. Liberius embracing him, accepted his offer, and joining with him in his embassy, Pancras and Hilary, the one a Priest and the other a Deacon in the Church of Rome, for associates, he besought him to make use of those extraordinary parts, and the great zeal that he knew he was master of, to persuade the Emperor, to whom he also wrote a letter upon that subject in very strong, but withal in very respectful terms. He likewise, by his letter, engaged Eusebius of Vercellæ, one of the greatest men of his time, to join himself with him; that being united together, they might make a greater impression upon Constantius.

(*l*) Socr. l. 2. c. 24. Soz. l. 4. c. 4. Tillem. Tom. VI. p. 187.

(*m*) 7 May 351.

(*n*) Lib. Epist. ad Euseb. Ver.

They indeed succeeded as Liberius desired, and prevailed upon the Emperor to let a general Council be called the year following at Milan, where he was going to pass the winter, as soon as he should have concluded a peace with two inconsiderable Kings of the Germans, who had made an inroad into Gaul. (o) But Constantius, who seemed to be convinced by the reasons which the deputies offered, had quite different intentions; for they desired a general Council, not doubting but that Arianism would be condemned, and S. Athanasius supported by it, as at that of Sardica: But the Emperor, who had before taken his measures with Valens and Acacius of Cæsarea, pretending to grant them a favour, consented to it only to obtain his own ends with the greater ease, which was to have all the Bishops of the West in his power at once, and make them, with Liberius himself, subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius.

Nevertheless, before he struck so great a stroke, which would make a terrible noise in the world, he had a mind to get rid of an uneasiness, which he still laboured under; that there might be no more obstacles left to oppose him in the execution of his designs.

Gallus, whom he created Cæsar when he left the East, had made a very ill use of his power, committing great disorders by his cruelty, particularly at Antioch, where he had put to death several persons of the greatest quality, not only through his own natural brutishness, but at the instigation of Constantina his wife, who was the Emperor's sister, and whom (p) an Historian calls the Megera of her time. He went so far as even to murder Domitian, one of the chief officers of the Empire, whom Constantius had just sent to order him to come into Italy. Upon which account it was no difficult matter for the Eunuchs of the palace, especially Eusebius, who was afraid of Gallus, and knew the Emperor's suspicious temper, to make him conceive a jealousy of that Prince, and resolve to dispatch him, for fear he should invade the Empire. It is not certain whether he had any such design; but it is probable that the apprehension which he had of his Father's fall, and his Cousin's cruelty, who spared not the blood of his nearest kindred, might make him come to such a resolution, if his being hated in the East, and Constantius's dexterity, (q) who upon specious pretences, drew

(o) *Amm.* l. 14.

(p) *Amm.* l. 14.

(q) *Amm. Ibid.*

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off his army from him, had not put it out of his power to undertake any thing, especially after the death of Constantina, who died upon the road as she was going to appease her brother.

Gallus was then under a necessity of obeying the Emperor, who, without mentioning what was past, continually wrote to him in the civilest terms imaginable, to induce him to come to him as soon as possible, in order, as he pretended, to go from thence into Gaul, to defend the Empire against the Barbarians, who threatened it in that quarter. But having caused him to be seized in the way, by some Veteran troops, and by officers, of whom he was very secure, and who had orders to divest him immediately of the Imperial robe; that wretched Prince was conveyed in an ordinary carriage as far as Pola in Istria, where the Eunuch Eusebius, being sent by the Emperor to try him, caused his head to be cut off in the twenty ninth year of his age. All that could be found, who had any share in his friendship, were punished either by death or banishment. There was nothing heard of at Court but the punishment of those, (r) who were accused of being concerned with Magnentius or Gallus. Even his brother Julian, the last of the race of Constantine, escaped merely by the favour of the Empress Eusebia, who obtained leave for him to retire to Athens to apply himself there to the study of Philosophy; and Constantius, surrounded by a company of Eunuchs and Flatterers, who continually extolled him for his good fortune and conduct in getting rid of Usurpers, became still more cruel and proud than ever; so that it was without much difficulty that he resolved to have recourse to his authority and power, and even to punishment, to make himself obeyed by the Western Bishops, who with those of the East, were assembled at Milan, as Liberius had desired.

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Besides those Eastern Bishops that were at Constantius's Court, and some others, who came from the East to this Council, there were present (s) there above three hundred Western Bishops, who being assembled before the deputies of the Bishop of Rome were arrived, agreed, almost all of them, for the sake of peace and to please the Emperor, who absolutely required it, to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius, who was loaded with innumerable

(r) Zosim. Amm. l. 15.

(s) Secr. l. 2. c. 29. Sozom. l. 4. c. 2
crimes,

crimes; but that only upon condition, that they should afterwards treat of matters of Faith, (†) in order to condemn those also who should be found not to hold orthodox principles. The Arians, overjoyed at so good a beginning, pretended to accept of the condition in order to get Eusebius of Vercellæ to the Council, who would not come thither, because he suspected that they would not be allowed to act with freedom. But he was at length prevailed upon to come, as well as the deputies of the Bishop of Rome, Lucifer of Cagliari, Pancras and Hillary, who intreated him to join with them in maintaining the Cause of the Church with his usual resolution; but in the mean time the Emperor and the Arians deceiving the rest of the Bishops, caused them to sign. Eusebius, being arrived, was extremely surprized to find, that Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, whose virtue and sincerity in the Faith, he was not ignorant of, had suffered himself to be imposed upon as well as the rest, by so plain a deceit; and observing him to be very much concerned at what he had done, told him thereupon, that he resolved to bring him off from this ill step by a stratagem, which he thus put in execution.

When they offered him, in the Council, the condemnation of Athanasius to sign, and pressed him to follow the example of so great a man as Dionysius in that particular; he seemed to make no great difficulty of it, provided that regard was had to his honour: But that being more advanced in years, and an older Bishop than Dionysius, who even used to call him Father, it would be a disgrace to him to sign after that young man (u) whom he looked upon as his son. “And do you then (says he, seeming to speak very seriously) think it just, that you, who will not allow the son of God to be styled equal to his Father, should expect me to allow my son to be preferred before me?” Upon which the Arians, who would rather have so celebrated a man, as Eusebius, sign than an hundred others, erased Dionysius’s name so perfectly, that there remained not the least mark of it, in order to let him subscribe his name in the same place. But Eusebius having what he wanted, told them plainly, in derision, that having so happily disengaged his son from that wicked Communication which he had entered into with them unawares, by subscribing, he would take care

(†) Sever. l. 2. Lucif. pr. Athan l. 2.

(u) Apud Amb. Ser. 69.

A. D. not to engage himself. That moreover they ought first of all to
 355. conferr about matters of Faith, to find out and reject such here-
 ticks as profaned that assembly, and that it was in their power to
 make the whole Council of one mind, provided that they subscribed
 to the Nicene Creed, which he had with him signed with his own
 hand. At the same time that he spoke this, he laid it upon the
 table to be subscribed by the assembly, assuring them that he would
 afterwards comply with whatever they desired. He had no sooner
 done, than Dionysius of Milan took the paper and pen to sign it ;
 but Valens coming from his place, and falling upon him like one
 that was mad, snatched the Creed out of his hand and tore it in
 pieces ; crying out with all his might, That they would never be
 guided by the Council of Nice. Upon which a great noise arising
 on both sides, and the people, who heard that they were about to in-
 jure the Catholick Faith, having assembled together to oppose them,
 the Arian Bishops forsook the Church where the Council was
 held, and would never meet again but in the palace, where there
 was no longer observed the form of a Council, but every thing
 was carried on by the commands, threatenings, and violence of the
 Emperor.

(x) Their first business was to draw up a Confession of Faith,
 in form of an Edict, containing all the blasphemies of Arianism. It
 was published in the Emperor's name in the great Church, where the
 people were assembled ; but they conceived such an abhorrence of it,
 that they rejected it immediately, with a great cry, protesting that
 they would sooner die than ever receive such an abominable impiety.
 However they followed those who brought the Edict into the palace,
 where Constantius had set up his Tribunal : He presided with arms
 in hand, and decided every thing absolutely by force, without giving
 ear to any other law or reasons than his own will. In short, when
 Ursacius and Valens declared the principal articles for which Atha-
 nasius was condemned, and the deputies of Liberius, with Eusebius
 and Dionysius, maintained very freely, that they were only so many
 calumnies, (y) which the accusers themselves had acknowledged
 publicly, and under their hands, desiring to be forgiven ; and that
 they, who had so solemnly contradicted what they had said, ought

(x) Sever. l. 2.

(y) Athan. Ep. ad-Solit.

not, afterwards, to be so much as heard. Then the Emperor, commanding them to be silent, said in an angry tone: "It is I who am Athanasius's accuser; and that is sufficient to persuade you, that what those Bishops tell you from me, and in my name, is the very truth: It is my will that you sign the condemnation forthwith, and afterwards enter into Communion with my Bishops." They represented to him, that both the Laws of God, and (z) the Canons of the Church, forbade them to condemn a Bishop who had been so often cleared, and without hearing what he had to say in his justification: That for their part, they should be very cautious of condemning the Nicene Faith under the name of Athanasius. To which he replied, after an imperious and furious manner: "Know, that my will shall serve for Canons of the Church; and that the Bishops of Syria shall allow of my explaining myself after this manner. Either sign immediately, or prepare for banishment, to which I have already condemned those who refused to obey me.

The good Bishops astonished, not at his threatnings, but at the impiety of his expressions, which was what they did not expect from him, lifting up their eyes to Heaven, told the Emperor: "That it was from thence that he received his Sovereign power, not to oppress the Church but to defend it: That he ought be afraid lest God should take it away if he made an ill use of it, by confounding Ecclesiastical with Civil rights, and by introducing the detestable heresy of Arius amongst Christians." Constantius, at these words, losing all patience, threw himself from his seat, and drawing his Sword, pointed it at them, threatening to run them through; then, without so much as hearing what they had to say, he drove them from his presence, and caused them to be carried into banishment: Hillary, one of the three Deputies, met with still worse treatment, from the cruelty of Valens and the Eunuchs of the palace; (a) who caused him to be inhumanly lashed; and whilst this was doing, they said by way of insult, "Why will you not oppose your Bishop Liberius? Why does he send you to receive the punishment that you deserve?" To which the good Deacon made no reply, but by praising JESUS CHRIST, for thinking him worthy to undergo that shame and torment for his glory.

(z) Athan. Ep. ad Solit. Hieron. de Script. in Lucif.

(a) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

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After this, Constantius, more incensed than ever against Athanasius, made a new Edict against him, more bloody than the former; for besides condemning him as an impious person, the Emperor's officers were commanded to seize him, in order to his being punished; to give the Arians possession of all the Churches; to let them have liberty to use as, they thought fit, all those who continued to communicate with Athanasius, and that the officers should give them the portion of corn that Constantine the Great had ordered to be distributed amongst the Clergy and Widows. Moreover, he sent other edicts and officers into the Provinces to oblige the Bishops either to cease holding Communion with Athanasius, or to quit their Bishopricks; with orders to the magistrates to compel the people, by all manner of punishments, to communicate with the Arians. And for fear that they should not execute these orders with all the cruelty and exactness that was expected, Ursacius and Valens joined with them some of their dependants, to observe the officers, and bring an account to the Emperor of those who acted with too much lenity upon this occasion: So that the Emperor's Edict being executed every where with the greatest rigour, there was nothing to be seen but Bishops, who were either forced to profess Arianism to save their dignities and estates, or driven from their Sees, which were presently filled by Arians, as it happened to that of Milan, in which they soon placed Auxentius a Cappadocean, one of the worst men of his time, and the most obstinate Arian that ever was, (*b*) who did not so much as understand Latin, and was ignorant of almost every thing else, except his heresy. Thus Arianism, which was hardly known in the West before the arrival of Constantius, from thenceforward became the most formidable party.

(*c*) Liberius, like a good pilot, who sits fast at the helm, steering his vessel amidst the most furious assaults of wind and weather, still continued firm in the government of his Church, notwithstanding the difficulty and danger attending it; and he wrote an excellent letter to his deputies and the Bishops that were in exile, to testify his joy for their resolution and constancy; to comfort them under their glorious sufferings and afflictions, and to encourage them to continue resolute, as they had hitherto done, in defence of the truth.

(*b*) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(*c*) Epist. Liber. inter. Aët. Euf. Vercel.

But he was himself forced to enter the field of battle, upon which they had so bravely fought. For Valens and the Arians imagining, that if they could once gain the Bishop of Rome, they should easily bring the rest over to their party, persuaded Constantius to undertake it. That Prince resolving either to make him yield, or to ruin him, sent Eusebius the Eunuch, with threatening letters to fright, and great presents to bribe him, at the same time; and, he being very expert, used his utmost endeavours to obtain success, but all to no purpose. Neither intreaties, nor threatnings, nor hopes, nor fears, nor anger, nor flattery, could ever shake that Prelate's resolution. He always replied, that he would never condemn a man who had been acquitted by his Predecessor, and in a lawful Council, till he had heard him; and that they had first condemned those who had subscribed to the heresy of Arius, in opposition to the holy Council of Nice: For which reason, when Eusebius saw that he was inflexible, and that he had even thrown the presents, which he offered him, out of S. Peter's Church, having constantly refused to accept them: Then giving over his enterprize, and returning to his master, he so incensed him against the Bishop, that some of the principal officers of his army were sent with their troops to Rome, and filled the whole city with disorder, and forced him away from his See to Milan.

Constantius, who in the mean time had had leisure to recover himself, received him at first very civilly; and, being either struck with the majestic presence of that Prelate, or thinking that he might sooner bring him over to his sentiments, by a seeming lenity, and force of arguments, (d) which he knew very well how to make use of, they had a long conference together, in which the Emperor exhorted the Bishop to exclude Athanasius from Communion with him, for several reasons: In the first place, for his wickedness, which (he said) was notorious to all the world; secondly, because he had been the cause of all their disorders; and, after having raised a division in the Church, had used his utmost endeavours to excite another likewise in the Empire, by setting his brother Constans against him, and persuading him to war: And lastly, but more especially, because he was already condemned by the whole Church, assembled

(d) Theod. lib. 2. cap. 2.

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together in so many Councils. To this he added, "That it would be much the best way for him to conform to the opinion of the whole world: That it was by no means reasonable, that he should protect an impious and sacrilegious wretch, in opposition to the rest of mankind, who had renounced, with horror, the Communion of Athanasius; and that he, who, as Bishop of the capital city, had most reason to procure the peace and union of the whole Church, was the only hindrance, by his obstinacy, in forming a party against it, in conjunction with the most wicked man upon earth."

To this Liberius still answered with a respectful freedom, That according to the Laws of God and the Church, they could not condemn any man, much less a Bishop, who had been so often acquitted, until he himself had been heard, and his cause examined in judgment, with all the freedom that became judges: That it was necessary first of all to be well informed of the belief and faith of those who should be appointed to give judgment in this case: That, for that purpose, they should offer all the Bishops the Nicene Creed to be signed by them: That if those who were exasperated against Athanasius did sign it, he was of opinion, that they should all go together to Alexandria, where they might more conveniently meet with all the particulars that were requisite for his trial: That he would willingly be one of the first; and would engage that the Western Churches should defray the charges of their several Bishops in that journey, without their being any expence to the Emperor: That he knew very well that there were a great many famous Bishops of his opinion; witness those which his majesty had lately banished: But that if all the rest of the world should forsake him in so good a cause, he, for his part, would continue as immovable as those three admirable young men, who alone persisted in refusing to worship the golden image which King Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

After this, the Emperor, being somewhat offended at this comparison, told him, that he must, however, make choice of two things, *viz.* either to quit Rome, and go into banishment, or subscribe to the

con-

condemnation of Athanasius. (f) This Prelate spoke to him in the most powerful and moving terms, conjuring him to cease making war against JESUS CHRIST, who had given him the Empire; and protesting to him, that he came prepared to suffer banishment, and undergo the most cruel torments, rather than so basely to betray the interest of Religion; insomuch that he was admired even by his very enemies, who assisted at that conference. Three days afterwards, which was the time allotted him to fix his resolution, he went cheerfully into banishment to Berza, a city of Thrace, after having bravely refused a thousand pieces of gold which the Emperor and Empress sent him, and much more those offered by Eusebius the Eunuch, to whom he replied, with a nobleness becoming a Bishop of Rome: "After having robbed the Churches of two Empires, dare you bring me the fruits of your robbery and sacrilege, as to a miserable condemned wretch. Go first and provide for your conscience; and when you are become a Christian, I will consider how I may treat with you.

(g) At the same time, Constantius, by the intercession of Acacius of Cæsarea, put Felix, a Deacon of the Church of Rome, in his place, and had him ordained in his palace, by three Arian Bishops, in the presence of his Eunuchs: But though he made profession of the Nicene Faith, yet because he was, after so dishonourable a manner, thrust into the place of a true Pastor, and communicated freely with the Arians, the people of Rome so abhorred him, that they would never come into the Church whilst he was celebrating the Divine mysteries. (h) The great Hosius was not more favourably treated than Liberius. In truth, the Emperor, who was somewhat moved by what that Prelate had represented to him, could not long hold out against the irresistible force of the arguments of that venerable old man, who was almost an hundred years of age, and covered with the glory of the many brave actions which he had performed, and was one besides for whom Constantine his father had abundance of respect. He had then some remains of shame, which hindered him from proceeding any farther, in abusing so great a man. He therefore sent him back to his Church, with a resolution to leave

(f) Athan. Ep. ad Sol.

(g) Hieron. de Script. Acac. Eccles. in Theodor.

l. 2. c. 2. Sozom. l. 4. c. 20. Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

(h) Athan. ibid.

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him at quiet: But the Arians, who had got the entire ascendancy over him, soon brought him over to their will; so that having recalled that good old man, and perceiving that there was no prevailing with him, either by intreaties or threatnings, he kept him above a year in irons at Sirmium, and ordered them to endeavour to bring down his courage and resolution by the most shameful and barbarous treatment.

This was the consequence of Constantius's late good success; being just delivered from a dangerous Civil war, which he was apprehensive of having upon his hands, by the revolt of a new tyrant. This was Sylvanus, who had been made Colonel of the Foot, as a recompence for the great service he did the Emperor at the battle of Mursa, by coming over to him from the army of Magnentius with a body of good troops, to which his victory was in a great measure owing: But having been brought under suspicion, and recalled from the army which he commanded at Cologne against the Almain, who were making an irruption into Gaul, he chose rather to try his fortune, and endeavour to make himself master of the Empire, (i) by causing himself to be proclaimed Emperor, than to run the hazard of perishing shamefully, by the artifices and calumnies of his enemies at court. Constantius was therefore in the utmost concern at this, knowing the bravery of that officer, and being also as fearful and dejected in adversity, as proud and cruel in prosperity. He was, as it were, thunder-struck at the news, which he received in the beginning of the night; and not knowing what to resolve upon in his Council, which he had caused to be assembled that very minute, one of them advised him to regain Ursicinus, another brave and very faithful Officer, who had also been brought under suspicions by the like calumnies; and therefore, Sylvanus, who knew that he was sent for from the East for that purpose, was not mistrustful of him. This Officer having accepted of the commission to dispatch the tyrant, set out immediately, with ten resolute men, amongst whom was Ammianus Marcellinus, who relates this story: He came, by long journeys, to Cologne, where Sylvanus received him with joy, as a brave man; and one, who, being disaffected, might be of great service to him in the war that he was going

(i) *Amm. l. 15.*

to wage with Constantius, in Italy, itself: For the soldiers, being exasperated against that Prince, for leaving them without ammunition and money, and in extreme want of every thing, demanded, with great clamours, to be led immediately to the other side of the Alpes: But Ursicinus knew so well how to manage and engage, underhand, the foreigners that were in the army, by promising them great rewards from the Emperor, that having forced into Sylvanus's palace, by break of day, pursued him, and brought him out of a Chapel, whither he had fled for shelter, whilst Divine Service was performing, he cut him to pieces with his sword, twenty days after he had taken upon him the Imperial robe. After which, Ursicinus, by his authority and management, easily reduced the army to obedience, giving them hopes of having a General in a little time, with whom they would be entirely satisfied.

In truth, as there was great danger of Gaul's being invaded by the people on the other side of the Rhine, if there was not some person there, who could support the interest and dignity of the Empire more powerfully (k) than a private General, the Empress Eusebia, who was very much in Julian's interest, persuaded the Emperor, who besides had no children, and was unwilling to go any more so far from the center of his Empire, to create him Cæsar, giving him his only sister Helena, daughter of Constantine the Great, in marriage, and sending him into Gaul; which he did in the beginning of December. Julian, being a brave and wise man, and beloved by the soldiers, settled all things in a little time, and often vanquished the Barbarians, whom he drove out of Gaul; and knowing the Gauls to be zealous for the true Catholick Faith, he not only pretended to be a good Christian, though he had already renounced Christianity in his heart, but he also favoured the Orthodox against the Arians, who were very much displeased at it: And to gain by that means the affections of the people, who hated Constantius for his impiety, he affected, through a cunning sort of policy, to treat the Catholick Bishops very favourably, (l) particularly S. Hilary of Poitiers, who speaks well of him, and who having then but just entered into Episcopal orders, began from that time to attack Arianism, presenting Constantius with his powerful and eloquent petitions, in behalf of

(k) Amm. *ibid.*

(l) Hilar. ad Const.

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the Orthodox Christians, against that execrable heresy; which was, soon after, the chief cause of his being banished: (*m*) For the success of this attempt against Sylvanus, and the flatteries of the Eunuchs and Courtiers, who extolled the good fortune, conduct, and power of Constantius to the Skies, made him so proud and brutish, that he could not bear the sight of any, but those who came over entirely to his sentiments, and gave up themselves blindly as slaves to his passions. Then he resolved to carry things to the utmost extremity, in order to procure obedience, or to destroy those who should dare to oppose his intentions of establishing Arianism throughout the Empire.

(*n*) Being in this mind, he ordered Syrianus, one of his Lieutenants, to send Athanasius to him, and to put in his place George of Cappadocea, one of the wickedest men upon earth; whom the Arians, after the condemnation of that holy Bishop, had chosen to fill his Patriarchal See. That Lieutenant, that he might not miss his blow, pretended, in compliance with the people of Alexandria, to send to Constantius, as they desired, what they had humbly to lay before him; and promised them, in the mean time, not to meddle with their Bishop, but to leave him at quiet till their deputies returned: But he did not keep his word; for having gotten about five thousand men into the city, he came of a sudden and surrounded the church, where the people were assembled, during the night, to prepare themselves for the celebration of the sacred mysteries, which were to be performed the next day. The disorders which were committed upon this occasion are inexpressible: They broke the doors and windows; sounded a charge, as if they were just going to give battle to an enemy; ran furiously into the church, with their arms in their hands, striking violently with their swords the first they met with, drawing them upon those whom they had struck down with their darts; trampling under foot the Priests and Deacons; shamefully abusing sacred Virgins, and other women, whom they dragged away and stripped; committing horrible sacrileges, after various manners, upon the altar; and even the holy table, overthrowing the one, and breaking the other in pieces; and profaning the sacred vessels, which they took away

(*m*) Amm. Mar. l. 15.
Apol. de Fag.

(*n*) Athan. Ep. ad Solit. Apol. ad Const.

with them. The cry every where was *Athanasius*; some in order to seize him, and others with a design to save him; and their being over eager to take him, having raised such a dreadful tumult, was the very cause of his safety; because, in that terrible confusion, in which one could not be distinguished from another, his friends the more easily found means for his escape.

The persecution at this time was not less than that of Gregory the Cappadocean some years before; but this was but the beginning of another more terrible storm, which arose soon after the pretended Bishop George's arrival; who entered Alexandria like a fury let loose: For when he perceived that he was had in abhorrence every where, and that the people refused to communicate with him, there is no decree of cruelty which he was not guilty of to all sorts of persons, by himself or his agents; especially by Heraclitus an Arian, and Sebastian a Maniché, two principal men of the army, who inhumanly put all his orders in execution; making use of fire and sword, and racks and scourges, and all sorts of punishment, to torment those who continued firm in their resolution not to communicate with this ravening wolf, whom they intended to put in the place of their true shepherd. Those especially amongst the Clergy, Monks, and holy Virgins, who expressed the greatest zeal for the Faith, and affection for their Bishop, were most barbarously treated. Even Secundus, Bishop of Pentapolis, one of the first disciples of Arius, killed some with his own hands; and several died under the strokes of the rods and palm boughs, the points of which entered so far into their flesh, that they could never be got out. In short, all Egypt was entirely laid waste by the Arians in this cruel persecution, during which almost an hundred Bishops were driven from their sees, banished, or obliged to fly; and their places were supplied by young men, abandoned to debauchery; and even by Pagans themselves, who turned Arians to obtain these Bishopricks, which were given, indifferently, to those who offered most money for them.

In the mean time, S. Athanasius, who had retired into the wilderness, often changing the place of his retreat, was resolved to go and present himself to Constantius, to implore his justice against these abominable outrages, which he did not believe could be committed by his orders. But he was soon undeceived; for he was informed, that the Emperor disdained the complaints of the people of Alexandria:

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That he exhorted them to unite with their new Patriarch, and follow the Faith and Belief which he taught them: That he not only disapproved what had been done, but also ordered new edicts to be published against him, by which he excited every one to fall upon him, and declared that he should look upon those as enemies, who did not do their utmost to take him; that there was nothing to be seen every where but soldiers, and young people who were in quest of him, and hunted him as they would a wild beast; and that, under pretence of searching for him, robbed both houses and churches, not even sparing the sepulchres of the dead. For which reason he was forced to change his design into that of going farther into the wilderness, and to seek more secure places of retreat; so that hiding himself from the cruelty of his merciless enemies, who desired nothing so much as his death, he might be the better able to defend the cause of the Faith, and give courage to the true believers that were left.

In truth, even in his solitude he was not a little serviceable to the Church, by the works which he composed: For it was there that he wrote that excellent Epistle to the Solitaries, to inform them of the truth of things relating to the conduct of the Arians, lest they should be deceived by the artifices of those hereticks. He there composed his Apology to Constantius; and another, by which he justified his flight, in answer to the Arians, who reproached him with having basely forsaken his flock. For they, being in despair at his having escaped out of their hands, endeavoured to make him odious, by accusing him of cowardice. They would likewise have his flight to be a plain proof of the many horrible crimes which they laid to his charge, as if being condemned and confounded by his own conscience, he durst not appear to answer them and maintain his innocence in judgment; and in order to render his flight the more shameful, they maliciously spread a report, that being pursued by the officers of justice, who had discovered the place of his retreat, he had escaped in the night-time, to the house of a young woman of extraordinary beauty, who had kept him concealed with her all the time that he was thought to be in the deserts. (o) Some undesignedly have not only taken this fable for truth, without making any objections to it, or meaning any harm, but also without considering that S. Athanasius

(o) Sozom. l. 5. c. 67. Pallad. in Lausi.

himself assures us that he fled from Alexandria into the solitudes of Egypt, from whence he even wrote to his friends a long time afterwards. (p) It was from thence also that he wrote to those holy Virgins whom they had so barbarously scourged, to comfort them and encourage them courageously to suffer that glorious martyrdom in defence of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST; (q) and lastly, it was there that he composed that excellent Apology, in which giving us the history of his persecutions, he discovers and unravels several particulars, which Historians, by not taking sufficient notice in reading of it exactly, have either overlooked or confounded.

(r) In the mean time his persecutors did not let him rest. They sent in pursuit of him, even into the cells of the Monks of Thebais. They searched the monasteries, and abused the poor Monks to make them discover what they did not know; they forced him to fly from den to den, and to hide himself in a cistern, where he could scarce see light; and yet they could never hinder him from holding a correspondence, by letters, with those who were able to defend the Faith, particularly with Lucifer of Cagliari, who himself sent him his works, in which he defended him. For that great man, who was banish'd into Palestine, where the Arians made him undergo innumerable misfortunes, so far from yielding, or shewing the least sign of weakness, exerted himself against them more courageously than ever; and not having now any opportunity of speaking to Constantius, he wrote two letters to him in defence of S. Athanasius, and some others, in which he upbraids him with his impiety, in terms, indeed, somewhat too harsh for a subject speaking to his Prince, how wicked and unjust soever. However, his zeal joined with an inflexible disposition, made him so far forget the respect that he owed him, that the Emperor, very much surprized at it, having ordered him to be questioned whether he owned those offensive writings, he answered boldly, That it was him who wrote them, and that he was very ready to die for so good a cause, in which he defended that of God himself. But since he so earnestly expressed a desire of martyrdom, Constantius chose rather to let him continue

(p) Ad Lucif. ad Ser. Theod. l. 2. cap. 19.

(q) Apol. 2.

(r) Epist. ad Lucif. ap. eund.

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in exile, (s) where he was used very cruelly by the Arians; as were also Eusebius of Vercellæ at Sythopolis, by Patrophilus the Bishop, (t) who made him undergo enumerable torments, and Dionysius of Milan and Paulinus of Treves, (u) who at length finished their banishment by a glorious death, before which the Emperor increased the number of those illustrious exiles by that of S. Hilary. For Saturninus, Bishop of Arles, not being able to gain his point in the Synod of Beziers, which he had assembled, cunningly to introduce Arianism into Gaul, he revenged himself upon that holy Prelate, who had united all the Gallican Church against him. At length he so inflamed the mind of Constantius, who was already so much incensed against S. Hilary, upon account of the petition that he presented him against the Arians, that without any farther deliberation he banished him to Phrygia.

After these fine exploits, Constantius, who had been all along beaten by the Persians, and had overcome Magnentius in a set battle by his Lieutenants, and with the loss of his best troops, (x) would nevertheless triumph at Rome, and receive the applause of that mistress of the world whom he had never yet seen. He entered it therefore in triumph at the end of April: But in this new sort of triumph there was hardly any thing of the magnificence of the Ancients. For there was neither spoils nor pageants, nor representations of cities taken, and provinces subdued, nor captives, nor crowns, nor treasures of conquered Princes. There was only the Emperor himself surrounded with the Officers and Soldiers of his army, who were somewhat too finely dressed for men of their profession. He appeared in his triumphal chariot, adorned all over with gold and precious stones, (y) where he stood as immoveable as a statue, except when he stooped as he came through the triumphal arches and porticos, in order to seem taller and conceal the lowness of his stature, tho' they were much higher than his head. But that affected gravity, which made him respected by the Eastern people, whose minds were more adapted to slavery, rendered him contemptible to those of Rome, who still retained a great deal of their liberty. He would, nevertheless, according to the customs of

(s) Hieron. in Luc.
Epist. 82. ad Vercel.

(t) Marc. Taur. ap. Ambr. Ser. 69.

(u) Amb.

(x) Amm. l. 6.

(y) Platin. in Liber.

his predecessors, harangue the people from his tribunal seat in the chief place of the city, and the senate also in the Capital ; as he himself likewise favourably received those speeches that were made to him by the several Bodies. But none was finer, nor surprized him more, than that which was made to him by the (2) Roman Ladies in behalf of their Bishop Liberius. They had desired their husbands, who were some of the greatest men of Rome, to ask the Emperor, at so favourable an opportunity, to let their Bishop return, he having been banished into Thrace ; and as they earnestly desired it, they, to make them do it with the more zeal, protested, that if they did not obtain that favour for them, they would forsake every thing to follow their Pastor even to the place of his banishment. The men on the other side fearing to incur the Emperor's displeasure, who was not used to spare those that thwarted his designs, persuaded them that it was much better for themselves to ask that favour of him, because it was most probable that he would grant it to Ladies of their quality, whom, no doubt, he would respect, and whose esteem he would be glad to obtain, in order to have their commendations. That if he did refuse them what they asked, they said they were sure, however, that they would do it after a civil manner, and that they need not be apprehensive of ill treatment.

The Ladies therefore resolved upon this ; and being sumptuously adorned, they went in a body to the palace, where the Emperor, very well satisfied with that new sort of honour which he thought they came to pay him, received them with all possible civility ; and one of the most expert amongst them, letting fall a few tears, very gracefully told him, " That, amidst the publick joy and inconceivable satisfaction that was then in Rome, upon the sight of the son of Constantine the Great ; and seeing him victorious and master of the world, as well as his Father, they were under the greatest concern, that they could not refrain from tears, which plainly appeared to proceed from grief rather than joy : But that the misfortune, which they suffered, could not be exempt from sorrow ; and that their sorrow as well as their misfortune being

(2) Theodor. l. 2. cap. 17.

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" in the greatest degree, could not be expressed without tears:
 " That they should have even come in mourning, if that had been
 " allowable, during the time of this triumph: But that since that
 " happy time had made them quit it, they hoped his goodness would
 " also remove the cause which they had for it: That in reality
 " they had lost their Father in losing their Pastor, who had been
 " snatched away from them by being so unfortunate as to displease
 " him: That of all the losses which they were liable to, there was
 " none of which they were more sensible than this, because it ex-
 " tended even to the soul, which was thereby not only abandoned
 " to the inexpressible grief which they felt, but also to the rage of
 " those wolves who had entered into the fold in the absence of the
 " shepherd: That they then humbly entreated his majesty to have
 " compassion on their misery, since he alone could comfort them,
 " by restoring to them their Father and their Bishop." Upon which
 they all at once cried out, in a lamentable tone, that they required
 of him their Father and their Bishop.

The Emperor, who had heard their discourse very quietly hitherto, hastily taking hold of these last words, replied to them courteously, that he was not so inhuman as to leave them without a Pastor, and that he even expected thanks from them, for having procured them one, who possessed all the good qualities requisite for discharging his Ministerial office with advantage. But those illustrious Ladies who were inspired with eloquence by their piety and zeal for Religion, gave him so plainly to understand, that they would die sooner than communicate with him, who had been put in the place of their lawful Pastor, and that the people of Rome would cease their publick exercise of Religion; that he promised them at length to restore Liberius: And to procure himself honour upon that account, he declared it to the people in the Circus.

They were there entertained by him with publick shews, sports, combats, and horse-races; and the spectators were divided into two parties, distinguished by different colours, in favour of those combatants to whose side they inclined. Now, to increase the joy which they expressed upon this occasion; he there caused his letters patents to be read, which signified his pleasure that Liberius should return to Rome, and there exercise his Episcopal Function, in con-
 junction

junction with Felix, who had been put in his place. (a) The people at these times used to take a liberty of jesting merrily upon every body; sometimes not even sparing the Emperor himself, who, to make himself popular, expressed abundance of pleasure at it. As soon therefore as they had made an end of reading these letters, there arose a noise, together with a great laughter throughout the assembly. After which, they began to cry out, on all sides, That the expedient was uncommon, and that each party of the spectators was also to have a Bishop, according to the colour by which they were distinguished. Then suddenly assuming a more serious air, they all cried out with one voice, as if by concert, ONE GOD; ONE CHRIST, AND ONE BISHOP. Then Constantius, who would (b) by no means offend the Romans at that juncture, promised them that Liberius should return and be Bishop alone, upon condition, nevertheless, as he explained it, that they would agree to communicate with his Bishops; to which he hoped to make them consent at length. (c) And to shew his zeal for Religion, he caused the altar and idol of Victory, the last remains of Idolatry, which stood in the entrance of the Capitol, to be taken away, Magnentius having set it up again, to please some Pagan Senators, after the Emperor Constantine had ordered it to be thrown down.

And he was so pleased with his abode at Rome, and the beauty of the place, (d) whose fame, tho' very great, came far short of what it really was, that he was resolved to settle there for some time, and enjoy at leisure so delicious a place. But the sad news that was brought him of the Barbarians having made an irruption into Pannonia and the higher Moesia, interrupted it, and obliged him to hasten his return, in order to succour those Provinces; so that thirty days after his coming into Rome he left it to return to Sirmium, where he waged a more cruel war against Religion than he designed to wage against the Sarmatz. It will now be necessary to unravel the intrigues that were formed, and the violent measures that were used, to make Arianism triumph in the West, though in the end it gained nothing, but the confusion which attended the disco-

(a) Amm. l. 16.
(c) Ambros. ad Valent. Ep. 31.

(b) Ruf. l. 1. c. 17. Sozom. l. 4. c. 10.
(d) Amm. l. 16.

A. D. 355. very of its artifices, and the abhorrence of all the world for its persecutions.

Whilst Constantius was at Sirmium, and was giving orders about his warlike preparations for driving the Barbarians to the other side of the Danube, the greatest part of the Bishops, that had followed him from Rome, having returned to their Bishopricks, there remained but a small number with him, the chief of whom were Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius, who had been lately translated from Cyzicus to Sirmium. These, who were, what we may call grosser Arians, were not satisfied with the last Profession of Faith that had been drawn up six years before at the Council of Sirmium against Photinus, because, excepting the word *Consubstantial*, which they would not suffer to be in it, it very much resembled the Catholic doctrine, and that of Arius was much condemned in the principal points of it. They therefore thought that they ought to embrace the opportunity which offered for establishing their tenents; and having assembled by their own private authority, without any other form of a Council, they drew up in Latin another Profession of Faith, which made the eighth since the beginning of Arianism, and is usually called the second of Sirmium. In this the two terms (e) *Consubstantial*, and (f) *like in Substance*, being rejected, under pretence that they are not in the Scripture, they acknowledged the *Father*, to be (g) greater than the *Son*, in dignity, honour, glory, and majesty, and that the *Son* was subject to him. (h) They found no difficulty in getting this approved by Constantius, over whom they had gained an absolute ascendant, in the absence of the rest of the Bishops, who were not such rigid Arians. They even put him upon having it signed by Hosius, whom he had kept a year in prison, insinuating, that the ill usage which he had (i) received, ought by this time to have shaken his resolution.

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They brought before the Emperor every day that venerable old man, who was above an hundred years of age, loaden with irons, wasted with pining and sorrow, overwhelmed with misery, and besides very much decayed both in body and mind by the hardships of a

(e) ὁμοούσιον.

(h) Athan. de Synod.

(f) ὁμοιόσιον.

(i) Socrat. l. 2. c. 26.

(g) Socr. l. 2. c. 25.

long and grievous imprisonment ; and as soon as ever he refused to sign that form of Faith, calling to mind the many glorious combats in which he had been engaged, in defence of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, they scourged him inhumanly ; (k) and, afterwards disjointed all his bones upon a rack : So that at length, that poor man, unable to hold out any longer, being overcome as well by his great age, and the weakness of his mind, as by the excess of his torments, (l) promised to do whatever they desired, provided he was not obliged to condemn S. Athanasius. Which plainly shews, that he had not the use of his reason, because it is a much less crime to condemn a man upon a false accusation, than to subscribe to a manifest impiety : Besides, it is very evident, that he could not subscribe to that heresy without condemning him who was the most noted enemy to it. And this is the reason why the Arians, who had obtained what they wanted of him, were satisfied with his signing that form of Faith, (m) which S. Hilary calls the blasphemy of Hosius and Potamius, a Spanish Bishop, who signed with him. (n) Thus this unhappy old man was induced to sign, in order to get out of their hands. They even got from him, either by force or cunning, a writing, under his hand, in which he acknowledged, That the Son was not of *like Substance* with his Father ; (o) which, indeed, was not expressly contained in that Confession, that was sufficiently full of blasphemies. In short, he signed whatever they required ; and then they left him at liberty to go to his Bishoprick ; where, about two years after, finding himself upon his death-bed, and being struck with the fear of God's vengeance, and delivered from the dread of the torments and cruelty of Constantius, (p) he protested against the violence that was used to him at Sirmium, condemning the Arians over again, and forbidding all that belonged to him ever to maintain such an abominable heresy. So that the Arians did not obtain any extraordinary advantage by the victory which they pretended to gain over a man, whom their exceeding great cruelty, joined with the greatness of his age, and the weakness of his mind, put out of a capacity of defending himself.

They were nevertheless very well satisfied with their victory ; and to make it more complete, they undertook the conquest of Liberius,

(k) Socr. l. 4. c. 25.

(l) Athan. ad Solit.

(m) Lib. de Syn.

(n) Athan. Ap. Secund.

(o) Epiph. Hær. 73.

(p) Athan. Ep. ad Solit.

which

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which was what Constantius had most at heart at that time, in order to rid himself, with honour, of the perplexity he was then in : For he had promised the people of Rome, in a full assembly, to send him back to his Church ; and on the other side, he was engaged to his Bishops never to restore him, until he became partaker of the same Communion with them. It was necessary therefore to find means to overcome that unshaken constancy, which he had hitherto shewn, and to make him yield, at length, either by policy or force. For this purpose, they sent to him Demophilus, Bishop of Berza, (g) the place of his exile, and Fortunatianus, Bishop of Aquilea, whom that Prelate had always very much esteemed ; but being corrupted after the wicked example of Saturninus, Bishop of Arles, he preferred the Emperor's favour to his own honour and conscience, by basely giving up himself to the Arians : For it generally happens, that those Bishops, who have too great a fondness for the Court, become slaves to their Princes, either through fear or hope, or even out of gratitude for the favours they have received ; which often lay them under fatal obligations of flattery, and shamefully complying with their passions. That Prelate being prevailed upon by Constantius after this manner, had often attempted to draw in Liberius ; (r) and, by the disposition which he left him in at his last visit, he thought, that by trying his utmost once more, together with Demophilus, he should be able to succeed.

That Prelate had been now two years in banishment, where he suffered great Inconveniences. He was broken by pining and sorrow, being all alone in an horrible solitude, without any one to strengthen his mind against the rugged assaults of so many miseries that surrounded him ; but the most dangerous enemy which he had, and against whom he was not prepared, was in himself, from whence he was sorely attacked, without intermission : For it was the concern and vexation that he was under, upon account of his Episcopal chair's being possessed by one of his Deacons, whilst he was, as it were, buried from the knowledge of mankind, in a corner of Thrace, and miserably forsaken by all the world. This tormenting thought afflicted him more than all the evils attending his banishment ; and raised in him continually such an earnest desire of returning to Rome,

(g) Epist. Lib. ad Orient.

(r) Hieron. de Scrip. Eccl. in Fortun.

he might have the pleasure of driving away his rival, that his banishment, which he went to in triumph, whilst he considered it, as an occasion of his glory, and the place of his martyrdom, began to be intolerable to him. After this manner it is, that great spirits, which cannot be brought down by any outward assaults, suffer themselves to be overcome very often by their own excess, which causes their vexation; and, at length, makes them descend to such base and shameful actions, as they would abhor the very thoughts of, on another occasion.

Demophilus and Fortunatianus perceiving this weakness of Libanius, though he used his utmost endeavour to conceal it, had recourse to all manner of devices that they thought would contribute entirely to cast him down, he being pretty far gone of himself. After having assured him, with a great many marks of affection, of the share they had in his affliction, and the concern they were under, at his being deprived of the principal Bishoprick of the Church, and plunged in such miseries as he had undergone for two years, whilst a person of merit possessed his place, they told him: "That they could not conceive how a man of his worth and spirit, could so long obstinately resolve to be miserable, upon a chymical notion, which subsisted only in the imagination of people of weak or no understanding: That, indeed, if he suffered for the cause of God and the Church, of which he was a governor, they should not only look upon his sufferings as glorious, but, being willing to partake of his glory, they should also become his companions in banishment themselves: But that that matter related neither to God nor Religion: That it concerned merely a private person, named Athanasius, whose cause had nothing in common with that of the Church; whom the publick voice had, long since, accused of many crimes; whom Councils had condemned, and who had been turned out of his See by Constantine the Great, whose judgment alone was sufficient to justify all that the East and West had so often pronounced against that famous criminal: That even if he was not so guilty as they made him, yet it was necessary to sacrifice him to the peace of the Church, and to throw him into the sea to appease the storm, which he was the occasion of raising, and which manifestly endangered S. Peter's bark; but that the greatest part of the Bishops, by giving condemned him, the defending him would be causing a
"schism

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“ schism in the Church; and that it was a very uncommon sight to
 “ see a Bishop of Rome abandon the care of the Church, and banish
 “ himself into Thrace, to become the Martyr of one whom both di-
 “ vine and human justice had so often declared guilty: That it was
 “ high time to undeceive himself, and to open his eyes at last,
 “ to see whether it was not passion in Athanasius which gave a false
 “ alarm, and opposed an imaginary heresy, to make the world be-
 “ lieve that they had a mind to establish an error.” For do you
 think, says Fortunatianus to him, “ That Saturninus, Bishop of Arles,
 “ that great man Vincent of Capua, who has been deputy to so ma-
 “ ny Bishops of Rome, (s) and who presided at the Council of
 “ Nice, together with Hosius; or do you think that Hosius himself,
 “ who is, at length, undeceived; or, to omit innumerable others,
 “ do you think that he who speaks to you, and, I believe, has the
 “ honour to be known to you as a man who would forfeit a thou-
 “ sand lives rather than betray his Conscience and Religion; do
 “ you think, I say, that so many would embrace an heresy to please
 “ the Emperor; and that they would have communicated with his
 “ Bishops, if they had not been fully satisfied that their sentiments
 “ did not differ from those of the Church?” For my part, added
 Demophilus, “ I assisted at the Conferences of the Bishops at Sir-
 “ mium; and have examined matters as well as they; and I should
 “ have looked upon myself as an heretick, if I had not signed the
 “ Profession of Faith that was made there. We therein acknowledge
 “ whatever the preceding holy Councils have decided, avoiding on-
 “ ly a term which is not in the Scripture, and which is the cause
 “ of all our disorders.” And thereupon he so represented matters
 to him, that were entirely Catholick; and without mentioning the
 word *homoion*, or *the likeness of Substance*, which the Word has with
 the Father, he told him only that they did no longer make use of
 the term *homoion*, or *Consubstantial*, which was of humane invention;
 and which, therefore, a great many would not advise. At length,
 he said so much to Liberius, that he, who only wanted a favourable
 opportunity of leaving Berea, and returning to Rome, was easily
 prevailed upon to make a distinction between the cause of Atha-
 nasius and that of the Church, and to suppress the term *Consubstan-*

(s) See Notes, Book I. &c.

tial, which however was the mark and characteristick that distinguished the Catholics from the Arians.

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(r) This done Fortunatianus, and Demophilus returned to Sirmium, with Letters from Liberius to the Emperor, containing the condemnation of Athanasius, and other Letters yet more vile to the Eastern Bishops that were then at Court, particularly to Valens and Ursacius, the most obstinate and wicked of all the Arians, in which he gives assurance that he would *communicate* with them, and heartily renounce the Communion of Athanasius, and that he willingly embraced the true Catholick-belief, which Demophilus had explained to him, as it had been received and approved by several Bishops at Sirmium; whether it was that Demophilus did really offer him the same Confession of Faith that was formerly made at the Council of Sirmium against the heresy of Photinus, as it is thought by many; or, as is more probable, that he spoke to him of that which they had lately made, disguising it by concealing that part which plainly favoured of Arianism, and making him believe that they only designed from henceforward to suppress the new term *Consubstantial* for the sake of peace. However it is certain, that Liberius committed three very inexcusable faults in this Case. The first, in that he condemned Athanasius, whom, it was well known, the Arians persecuted only for his having undertaken to defend the Nicene Faith in opposition to them; the second, in that he consented to the suppressing of the term *Consubstantial*, which the holy Council had put into their Creed, as a mark of the Catholick Religion, against those Hereticks, who without scruple admitted all the rest, which they easily wrested to their own meaning. And the third, in that he received those to communion with him who were notorious Arians; which gave all the World reason to believe that he was one too, (u) tho' he would never be prevailed upon by them to condemn the *Consubstantiality* of the Word. And as the grief that tormented him, and the great desire that he had of returning to Rome blinded him so far, as to make him basely betray his conscience in a matter of that importance: So that desire which he had of raising himself again, and of being re-established in his See, made him stoop to such mean Actions, as were entirely beneath his character, by intreating those Bi-

(r) Lit. lib. ap. Hill. in frag. (u) Sozom. l. 4. c. 14.

A. D. 357. shops, particularly Valens, to intercede for him with the Emperor, to be so good as to recall him speedily from banishment, and settle him again in his Church. Thus does ambition humble those by real meanness, whom it pretends to exalt by imaginary greatness.

Constantius, very well pleased with so successful a beginning, thought that by mortifying Liberius a little longer, he might still obtain somewhat more from him, and prevail with him at length to condemn openly the *Consubstantiality of the Son*. For which reason, without making him any answer, he let him linger in banishment, the trouble of which was prodigiously increased, by the concern he was under for having taken such scandalous steps to no purpose. But Valens who, at first sight, found in his Letters, that he wanted to make the cheat, which he had contrived, successful, failed not to make use of them for establishing pure Arianism in the East, by means of his trusty friend Eudoxius, who the year before had, by surprize, usurped the See of Antioch. For being at Rome, (x) in attendance upon the Emperor, when he heard of the Death of the Patriarch Leontius, he desired leave to return to his Bishoprick of Germanicia, a small city of Syria, under pretence that his presence was wanted there, but he no sooner arrived, than he forsook it, and, as he had before concerted the matter with the Eunuchs of the Palace, whom he had bribed, he procured himself to be received into Antioch by their Creatures; and as soon as he was settled there, he used his endeavour to restore both the person and doctrine of Aetius, whose protector he was, (y)

This Aetius was of Antioch, descended of mean parentage, and of the dregs of the People, but of a lively and subtle disposition; and having quitted the trade of a Goldsmith, in which he was become very skillful, he went to Alexandria, where he learned Aristotle's Logic of a certain Sophister. He took upon him, soon afterwards, to be a Divine, though he had no other knowledge of sacred literature; and as he endeavoured to explain divine things by the rules of his Philosophy and Sophistical arguments, which he could not very well get clear of himself, he soon run into Arianism, which he learned from George, pretended Patriarch of Alexandria, who at length made him a Deacon. But he soon out-did his Master: For reasoning with himself upon his doctrine, he found that the Arians, who since the Council

(x) Socrat. l. 2. cap. 29. Sozom. l. 4. cap. 11. See Tillemont p. 278. T. vi. P. 11. (y) Suid. Epiph. hæc. 76. Socrat. l. 2. cap. 28. Sozom. l. 4. cap. 11.

of Nice were grown abundance milder, because the first blasphemies of Arius, were detected by every body, did not argue consequently, for as much as supposing that they believed the Word not to be *Consubstantial* with his Father who created him, it must necessarily follow that according to their opinion, he was not like him in substance, which however was what they would not say. For which reason when he returned to Antioch, he took upon himself to argue upon, and to re-establish pure Arianism, proving to those moderate Arians, by Syllogisms, very conclusive according to their false principles, that the Son of God being a Creature as they alledged, must needs be of (z) *a very different nature* from his Father; to this he added other blasphemies which were the consequences of it, which rendered him so odious to the People of Antioch, that they gave him the Surname of Impious or Atheist.

This did not hinder him however from having a great many disciples, who were called (a) *Anomæans*, because they held that the Word was not like the Father. And what gained him many more was the horrible licentiousness which he openly introduced, quite contrary to Arius who had been a great hypocrite. For Aëtius maliciously abusing that passage of Scripture where it is said, (b) *This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent*, said that it was sufficient to salvation to have that knowledge as he had it, knowing him, said he, as plainly as he knew himself, and that good works, or the observance of Gods Commandments were by no means necessary to be added to it; so that he gave liberty for all sorts of vice, particularly uncleanness, which he ridiculed as a matter of no consequence. For this reason he was degraded and driven out of Antioch both by the Orthodox and Arians; Nay Constantius himself, to whom this impious wretch had often wrote, and even maintained to his face, that his Arians ought to have the same sentiments, but durst not own them, had banished him more than once; and also, after that unhappy Prince's death, he was in danger of his Life, because he had had some share in his friendship. And yet, as soon as Eudoxius had usurped the See of Antioch, he caused him to return, through the favour of the Eunuuchs his protectors. He had even restored him to the order of *Deacon* from

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(z) *ἑτεροούσιος*. (a) *ἀνόμοι*. (b) Joh. xvii. 3.

A. D. that time, had he not met with such powerful opposition as he could
 357. not master. But he nevertheless used his utmost endeavours in secret to re-establish his doctrine throughout Syria.

Matters being in this state, Valens, who had a mind to restore pure Arianism at that time as well as he, sent him his profession of Faith, which he had forced Hosius to sign, with the letters which he had got from him by surprize, and which contained in express terms, that the Son of God was not of like substance with his Father. (c) To these he added a copy of those which he had just received from Liberius, and informed him, as he did every body else, that that Faith which Demophilus had explained to him, and which he protested he had embraced, was the same that Hosius, had signed at Sirmium, and acknowledged in his letters.

Eudoxius, charmed at so favourable an opportunity of openly professing the opinion of Aëtius, immediately assembled at Antioch those of his party, the chief of whom were Acacius of Caesarea, and Uranianus of Tyre, and declared publicly that the Western Bishops, even Hosius himself, and more especially Liberius Bishop of Rome, had made profession of that Faith in writing, and that it must therefore be embraced by all the East, in order to unite the whole world in one Communion. This made a great noise every where, particularly at Antioch, from whence the chief of the Clergy that opposed that impiety, being ill treated by Eudoxius, had retired to George of Laodicea, a great enemy to the opinion of Aëtius, and who besides was very impatient under the usurpation that Eudoxius had made of the See of Antioch. That prelate being desirous of applying a speedy remedy to so great an evil, bethought himself of sending immediately for his Clergy to Ancyra, the capital city of Galatia, where
 358. Basil, the Bishop of the place, had assembled a great number of Bishops, to celebrate the dedication of the church which he had built there. He wrote a courteous letter to them, in which he besought them to make use of that opportunity of condemning that detestable heresy which was about to over-run Syria and Phœnicia, and soon after all the Provinces in the East, if it was not rooted out as soon as might be.

Basil was a very able man, and very zealous in defence of the Councils assembled by the Eusebians, who would not be thought to

(c) Sozom. l. 2. cap. 11. & 14.

hold all the opinions of the Arians, as also for the Council of *A.D.* Sirmium, where he had gained a great deal of honour by opposing 358. Photinus; therefore he changed that private assembly into a Synod, according to the custom of the Arians, who formed councils at an easy rate. And there they condemned the heresy of the *Anomæans*, or those who not only denied the Consubstantiality of the Son of God, as was the case of Basil himself, but also his *perfect likeness* with his Father, (d) and they anathematized all those who maintained that the Word was not entirely like him in substance and every thing else.

This was the first time that war was declared between the Arians who ever since have been openly divided into two parties. Before the Council of Nice they were all pure Arians; from that time all the reign of Constantine, they pretended to be Catholics for fear of banishment, spreading their poison only in secret. After the death of that great Prince they were almost all Semi-Arians (as they were called) contenting themselves with denying the Consubstantiality of the Word, and condemning the other more odious propositions of Arius. But since the attempt of Valens and Eudoxius, and the council of Ancyra, they openly waged war against one another, being divided into two parties, one of which was called pure Arians, and the other Semi-Arians or Anomæans, who condemned each other in their pretended councils. The pure Arians followed the heresy of Arius just as it was from the first without any alleviation; and the chief of them at that time were Eudoxius, protector of Aëtius the Atheist, and of his Secretary Eunomius, who came nothing short of his master in impiety; George of Alexandria, Acacius of Cæsarea, Uranius of Tyre, Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Syngidon, Auxentius of Milan, Epictetus of Centum cellæ, Demophilus of Beræa, and several others, as well of the West as East, where the greatest part declared themselves at length for that party.

The Semi-Arians, who in appearance had more respect for the Son of God, said; That he was of like substance with his Father; and the chief of these were, Basil of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, Eustathius of Sebasta, Silvanus of Tarsus, Dracontius of Pergamus, Neonas of Seleucia in Isauria, Elentius and Deontius of Cy-

(d) Epiph. hæc. 73.

A. D. 358. zicus, and several others of the East, some of whom believed that the Word had a beginning, but, subsisted before all ages; (e) and others, as Basil of Ancyra and his Colleagues, that he had been from all Eternity, though they always positively maintained, with the rest of the Arians, that he was not of the same substance with the Father. (f) Upon which account St. Epiphanius had good reason to say that they were great dissemblers, who jested both upon God and Man, under the false appearance of respect which they pretended to pay to the Son of God. For if he is not *Consubstantial* with his Father who is God, and only resembles him in substance, it is evident that the Father and the Son would be *two of like substance*; since therefore there is but one God, as all the Semi-Arians agree, they must necessarily conclude that the son is not God, and that, in truth, he is but a Creature, what excellence soever they ascribe to him above others, and consequently that he is of a nature infinitely beneath that of his Father. Thus do they fall into the mischievous consequences of the doctrine of Arius, and though they speak in a more respectful manner, yet they indeed hold the same things, and find themselves engaged whether they will or no in the same blasphemies. So that Basil and those of the East, who denied the *Consubstantiality*, with the rest of the Arians, and who maintained in opposition to them, *a perfect likeness in substance*, denied it in fact as well they, and condemned them only in appearance, (g) in their Council of Ancyra, which they held at Easter that same year, in opposition to the profession of Faith made at Sirmium. (h) But the greatest part of the Bishops of Gaul, to whom they sent it, condemned it more effectually, by confounding every part of it, as appeared by an excellent piece which Phœbadius Bishop of Agen wrote against it.

In the mean time the Bishops that were assembled at the Synod of Ancyra, not (i) being able to endure the Anomœans, appointed Basil of Ancyra, with Eustathius of Sebasta and Leontius of Cyzicus to go to Constantius, and desire him to disannul that second Confession of Faith. That wretched Prince, who would take upon him to act the part of a Divine, and to decide matters of Faith, was usually the tool of both parties, suffering himself to be

(e) Epiph. hæc. 73. Hilar. lib. de Syn. (f) Epiph. hæc. 73. (g) Epist. Syn. Ancyr. ap. Epiph. hæc. 73. (h) Hilar. lib. de Syn. (i) Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 12.

prevailed upon by those who came last and offered their arguments in the most plausible manner. Basil of Ancyra, who had a great deal of wit, knew very well how to give the Emperor a notion of the impiety of that wicked profession of Faith, and the scandal that it occasioned in the East, where they could not endure to hear it said that the Son of God was unlike his Father, and that he was confined to the state of Creatures; insomuch that he himself conceived an abhorrence of it; and whether out of shame that he had been so forward in adding to that confession of faith, or that he had been really surprized into it, (k) he resolved without much ado to revoke it. Even Valens and Ursacius themselves, who readily changed their faith as their interest required, and were always on the strongest side, seeing that the Emperor condemned them, were the first who declared, that since it gave offence, there was a necessity for suppressing it, and drawing up another, conformable to those of the Councils of Antioch, Sardica, and Sirmium, as (l) Basil earnestly desired of the Emperor. And in order to have it received with the general consent, he persuaded him to assemble a Council at Nicomedia, where these points of faith might be fully treated of, in opposition to these dangerous innovations.

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(m) The weakness and inconstancy of that Prince in Religious matters, which he did not understand, though he wanted neither prudence nor constancy in Civil affairs, appeared in nothing so much as this. (n) Asphalius a Priest of Antioch, who was sent, by Eudoxius, to procure his approbation of what he had done in favour of the ~~Arianists~~, had succeeded so well in his negotiation, that having received letters from the Emperor as favourable as he could wish, he was now about to return with the confirmation that he had requested. But as soon as Basil had spoken, Constantius, repenting of all that he had done, got his letters again from Asphalius, and wrote others in very bitter terms, to the Clergy of Antioch, against Eudoxius; in these letters after reproaching him with his ambition and treachery and impiety against the Son of God, who, he said, was not like his Father; the Emperor ordered all those to be driven out of the Church that followed his doctrine: so that wretched Eudoxius himself, was forced to return to Semi-Arianism, and excommunicate Aëtius, for fear of losing his Bishoprick. (o)

(k) Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 25. (l) Sozom. l. 4. c. 25. (m) Hilar. cont. Const. n) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 12. Epiph. hær. 76. (o) Socrat. l. 2. cap. 25. Sozom. l. 4. cap. 5.

A. D. 358. Besides the Emperor published an Edict, by which he suppressed their confession of Faith, and forbad every one, under pain of death, to keep so much as a copy of it. But as such prohibitions usually heighten our curiosity, as well as the value of the things prohibited, which otherwise, perhaps, would have been despised; that Edict served only to make them preserved more carefully than before.

This sudden alteration of Constantius's mind contributed not a little to the return of Liberius, because matters being somewhat mitigated, it was thought that that Prelate would easily consent to what they desired of him at that time. It likewise happened that the Deputies of the Western Bishops were then at Sirmium, attending upon the Court, to solicit the performance of the promise which the Emperor had made, of restoring him. For which reason, (p) laying hold of that opportunity, as if he intended to oblige the whole Western Church, he sent for him to Sirmium, where, by the advice of Basil and his colleagues, after having assembled all the Bishops which were at Court, he urged him to declare publicly, that he acknowledged that the Son of God was not Consubstantial with his Father. Liberius perceiving that that did not agree with what Demophilus had represented to him at Beræa, and that there was a great difference between denying the Consubstantiality of the Word, which was downright Arianism, and only suppressing the term, which was asserting nothing positively, for that reason refused to do it. And then Basil, who was for obtaining what he wanted, and making the world believe that Liberius agreed with them in doctrine, set forth a Collection, containing the decrees received by the whole Church, against Paul of Samosata, the confession of Faith of the Council of the Dedication at Antioch, and that of Sirmium against Photinus, which were unquestionably Arian, but contained nothing repugnant to the Orthodox doctrine, except the suppression of the word Consubstantial, which all the Arians rejected, not only because it was not in the Scripture, but because they disallowed the signification of it: And to gloss the matter, Basil told Liberius, that they offered him those confessions, which were entirely orthodox, without making use of that expression, because there were some who abused it for the establishing of the Sabellian heresy. Upon which Liberius, who

(p) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 14.

was glad of finding so good an excuse to bring himself off, subscribed to it, with the rest of the assembly, not even excepting Valens, Ursacius and Germinius of Sirmium, who though he had before drawn up the other scandalous Confession, yet he made a shift to approve of this. A. D. 358.

This is all that Liberius signed ; but at the same time a report being spread, as he was informed, that he had condemned the term *Consubstantial*, and maintained that the Son was not like the Father, he also produced his own particular Creed, which he delivered to the rest of them, and by which he excommunicated all those who alledged that the Son was not like to his Father in substance and every thing else, which Basil and the rest of the Semi-Arians very willingly embraced. Thus Liberius did not positively sign the heresy of the Semi-Arians, because he always obstinately refused to condemn the Consubstantiality of the Son. But by signing the Confessions of those Hereticks, who were satisfied with suppressing that term, and putting instead of it that of (q) *like in substance*, and by communicating with them as he did, he gave reason to believe that he was a Semi-Arian. This is the true matter of fact relating to that Prelate, which I have so plainly set forth, keeping a just mean between the two extreams, that I do not believe that any unprejudiced person that consults the records from whence I took it, can possibly question the truth of it, with any probability of reason.

This matter being thus determined, Basil went into the East to give orders about the Council that was to be held at Nicomedia ; and Liberius, whom the Emperor had set at liberty, as soon as he had subscribed with the Arian Bishops, returned to Rome. That Prince having promised the people of Rome to restore them their lawful Bishop, and drive away the intruder, he durst not openly give his commands, for there being two Bishops there at the same time, which was what he intended : But his Bishops shamefully betraying both their character and their interest, (r) wrote, as of their own accord, to Felix and the Clergy of Rome, to advise them to receive Liberius, and to let the Church be governed by both of them together, forgetting that it was contrary to humane and divine right, that there should be two heads to one body, or two Bi-

(q) Ὁμοιούσιον.

(r) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 14.

A. D. 358. shops in one See. But that was not the question at Rome, where things had received a great alteration. For as soon as they were informed there of the scandalous change of Liberius, and that, to regain his Bishoprick, he had been so base as to sign the same Profession of Faith with the Arians, the greatest part of the Clergy and People, who before adored him as the * bravest of Men, conceived such an abhorrence of him, that they would no longer acknowledge him for their true Bishop, concluding that he was become an Apostate by what he had done.

On the other side, Felix, who had been hitherto, without dispute, an unlawful Bishop, and a Schismatick, whether through a design of making use of that opportunity of procuring himself to be duly elected, or that he was sensibly affected with zeal for the Faith, as soon after appeared, he so openly declared himself against the Arians, that he even condemned Constantius, and excommunicated him as an heretick. This gained him so much esteem and respect in Rome, that the most considerable and greatest part of the Clergy, and amongst the rest † Damasus, the same who some time afterwards was raised to that See himself, acknowledged him for lawful Bishop, by a sort of unlooked-for election, and renounced communion with Liberius, whom they judged worthy to be dethroned as soon as he joined communion with the Arians; so that by a strange alteration, he that was the true Bishop became false, and he that was false became true.

Constantius, extremely incensed against Felix, made no difficulty now of settling Liberius again in his See without a partner, according to his promise. He therefore gave orders to his officers to procure him admittance, and drive out Felix. || But Liberius, upon his return to Rome, as it were in triumph over his rival, was very much surprized to find that very few of the People would acknowledge him, and that the greatest part of the Clergy, (s) not only would not come into the Church whilst he was there, but even would not so much as be seen in the publick baths with those who communicated with him. This made the officers of Constantius most grievously persecute Felix, and all that were of his Party. Nay, they proceeded so far as to massacre several Priests, that had

* Lib. de Pont.
Pontif

† Vid. Tillemont.

|| Ibid.

(s) Lib. de Rom.

hid themselves in the Churches, to avoid having any intercourse with the Arians, who joined themselves to Liberius, and who (†) starved to death in prison, Eusebius, a Roman Priest, * upon the same account. Felix himself having fallen into their hands, was carried prisoner to Ceres, where, still continuing to condemn the Arians, he was crowned with a glorious (u) martyrdom, being beheaded on the 29th of August in the following year, 15 months after he had been acknowledged true Bishop of Rome. A. D. 358.

I very well know that the truth of his martyrdom, as well as his being a true Bishop, has been long questioned, until the year 1582, when Gregory XIII. employing persons to correct the Martyrology, they were about to leave him out of it. But it pleased God that Felix himself appeared again of a sudden to plead his own cause which he gained. For as certain people were searching in the Church of St. Cosmus and Damianus, for some treasure which they were told was hidden there on the right side under the Altar, they discovered a marble tomb, on one side of which, separated from the other by a plank, were found the relicks of those holy Martyrs Marcus, Marcellinus and Tranquillinus; and on the other the body of St. Felix, with this inscription graven on a stone: *The body of St. Felix Bishop of Rome and Martyr, who condemned Constantius.* This happened exactly the night before the 18th of August, which is the eve of his festival, about 1218 years after his decease, as it were to prevent at the very instant his being deprived of that honour which was to be performed (x) in memory of him the next day. So that even those who had written against him, as particularly Baronius, who was not then a Cardinal, declared themselves convinced, and gave God the glory which was due to him for this saint, whose two titles of Bishop and Martyr were confirmed to him by Gregory, who could not resist such undeniable evidence. After this, I must own, I cannot imagine how any Person can dispute it at present.

But to return, Liberius, after the death of Felix, was so affected by his example that he left off all manner of intercourse with the Arians, joined himself again with St. Athanasius (y), and maintained the Faith of the holy Council of Nice with his former generous

(†) Martyr. Rom. 14. Aug. * *Vid.* Tillemont. (u) Martyr. Roman 29. Aug. (x) Baron ad an. 357. n. 63, & 64. (y) Apud Athan.

A. D. resolution, as appears from a letter written by him to St. Athanasius, and as shall be shewn in the sequel of this History. For which reason the clergy of Rome, finding with pleasure that Liberius was the same man that he had been before his fall, acknowledged him again, as it were by a second choice, for their lawful Bishop, (z) and he for his part received to communion with him, and left in their several orders, all those who had been ordained by Felix since his return, which was the only ordination that he ever performed: which shews that he did himself justice, and after all acknowledged Felix to be a true Bishop.

In the mean time Basil of Ancyra was busy in making preparations for the Council that was to be held at Nicomedia; and the Bishops were already set out in order to get thither at the end of the summer, when they heard of that terrible earthquake, which having done a great deal of mischief all along the Bosphorus, (a) both on the European and Asian shore, raged more in that unfortunate city, than any where else, utterly destroying it on the 24th of August, (b) on which day early in the morning it began; and in less than three hours the greatest part of the inhabitants were over-whelmed in its ruins; amongst the rest the governour, and Cecropius the Bishop, as inveterate an Arian as Valens himself, in concert with whom he had drawn up at Sirmium that abominable confession of faith which contained the doctrine of pure Arianism. What made this misfortune irretrievable, and completed the most entire and horrible desolation that ever was seen, was that there happened a general conflagration by the (c) fire that fell from heaven, and that came out of the pits, which were made by the (d) violent shocks of the earthquake; this fire lasted fifty days and fifty nights without ceasing, and entirely consumed whatever had been spared by the whirlwind and the earthquake. It is said that Arsacius a Persian, who from being a soldier under Licinius, and a Confessor of JESUS CHRIST during the persecutions, was become a solitary in the reign of Constantine, in a little spot assigned him in the castle of Nicomedia, had revealed to him, some hours before, what would happen; and that having gone immediately to warn the Priests to hasten to church in order to avert the Divine vengeance by their prayers, and finding that he was not

(z) Lib. de Roman. pont.
cap. 15.

(c) Amm. ibid.

(a) Am. Marcell. l. 17.
(d) Sozom. ibid.

(b) Sozom. l. 4

regarded but looked upon as a delirious person ; he returned and besought God in prayer that he might not behold that dreadful destruction of a city, where he had received the life of grace by the water of Baptism ; after which he breathed out his soul. For he was found dead in the same posture that he used in prayer, and in the same tower to which he had so retired, that alone remaining entire amidst so many ruins. *A. D.* 359.

(e) The Emperor was very much concerned at this loss ; but Basil of Ancyra gave him comfort under it by the letters which he wrote to him, and prevailed upon him to appoint the City of Nice for the meeting of the Council instead of Nicomedia, having observed that Constantius was inclined to it, and moreover the (f) Arians making no question but that they should be able to establish their heresy in that Council, where they would be the most powerful, imagined that it might receive the greater authority by so famous a name, and that they might confidently stile it the Nicene Faith. The Emperor therefore gave orders to the (g) Bishops to be at Nice in the beginning of the summer following ; and to send him their determinations, after they were concluded, by ten of the Eastern and as many of the Western Bishops, not only that he might see whether they had judged according to Scripture, but also that he himself might decide those matters as he should think most convenient. So that that Prince, who was as yet but a Catechumen, took upon him to determine absolutely the opinion and judgment of those Bishops, as if he was the only Oracle by which they ought to be directed, or, in one word, he alone the whole Council.

This project however did not succeed. For this earthquake having caused great disorders in Nice, where the inhabitants overwhelmed in grief being busy in repairing their losses, and incapable of receiving such a number of guests, he was forced to write to Basil, to choose in conjunction with the rest of the Bishops a place proper for the Council. But they never being able to agree about it, every one desiring that city which was most convenient for himself ; Basil leaving them in dispute to no purpose, came to the Emperor at Sirmium, to give him an account of the whole matter, and to receive his orders. There were then at Court a great

(e) Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 15.

(f) Theod. l. 2. cap. 26. (g) Soz. ibid.

A. D. 359. many (b) Arian Bishops, the chief of whom, besides Germinius of Sirmium, were George of Alexandria, Mark of Arethusa, Ursacius and Valens, who never stirred from the Emperor, Acacius of Cæsarea, and Eudoxius of Antioch, who by means of Eusebius the Eunuch, his intimate friend, was again restored to favour at court, and who was as well as himself for the doctrine of pure Arianism. All these Bishops being assembled together by Constantius's order to consider of a place for holding the council, they at length chose Seleucia a city of Isauria; but Eudoxius and Valens, imagining that they should be the better able to bring about their designs, if the Eastern and Western Bishops were separated from one another, and that if they could not gain these latter, they should be secure, at least, of the others, obtained of the Emperor, by the assistance of Eusebius, and the most considerable men at court, who were all in his interest, to let the Bishops be divided into two councils, that at the same time that those of the East were assembled at Seleucia, those of the West might assemble at Rimini, a city of Italy, where they might conveniently come together from all parts of the Western provinces; and in the mean time Constantius thought it necessary for them to draw up, in concert amongst themselves, a profession of faith to be presented to both the councils.

To this purpose they met the 22d of May, being the eve before Whitsunday, but could not agree all that day. They were all indeed for rejecting the term * *Consubstantial*; But Basil of Ancyra the chief of the Semi-Arians, would have positively inserted it into the profession that the Son was * *of like substance* with the Father. On the other side Valens, who continued always for the Anomæans, though he had consented to the suppressing of his (i) profession of Faith, was for rejecting both that expression and the † *likeness of substance* in the Son; so that the dispute lasting till late at night, and the Emperor giving them positive orders to agree, they were (k) obliged to choose one from amongst them, which was Mark of Arethusa, to draw up the profession, and all the rest were compelled to sign it. This Bishop, to make them all agree, chose a mean which pleased neither of them, but which however they were forced to comply with: For, to please Valens, he inserted that in speak-

(b) Sozom. *ibid.*
de Sunad. Epiph. hæret. 73.
ibid.

* ὁμοούσιον.

† ὁμοιόσιον.

(i) Athan. lib.
(k) Faber præfat. in frag. Hill. Epist. Germ.

ing of God, and of the Son, the term *substance* should be abolished, because it gave offence, and the Scripture made no mention of it; and to satisfy Basil, he acknowledged, that the Son was like to his Father in all things. This was the ninth Profession of Faith of the Arians, since the beginning of their heresy. A. D. 359.

When they came to sign before the Emperor, Valens, after a short discourse, to shew in what manner he consented to that Profession of Faith, wrote, that he believed the Son to be like his Father, without adding (†) *in all things*; but Constantius having commanded him to insert it, he immediately obeyed, staying for another opportunity of declaring in what sense he subscribed to it, namely, That the Son was in all things like to his Father in will, which was always conformable to his, but not in Nature and Substance.

On the other side, Basil of Ancyra was dissatisfied with the exclusion of the term *substance*, perceiving very plainly that Valens would explain the Profession after this manner: For which reason when he subscribed, he protested that by the Words, *like in all things*, he understood (*) a perfect resemblance not only in the Will, but also in the very Being; this however was not put into the Profession of Faith, to which they gave this title: *An Exposition of the Catholick Faith, performed in the presence of the most Religious and Victorious Emperor Constantius, Eternal, August, and in the Consulship of Eusebius and Hypathius. XII. Cal. June.* Which gave occasion to (l) St. Athanasius to jest upon the Arians, who, by setting down the year and day contrary to what was actually observed in Professions of Faith, plainly shewed the novelty of their Belief, which was formed exactly at that time; besides, that they were not ashamed to give a man the title of Eternal, which they deny the Son of God, though they even acknowledged, in that Profession, that he was before all conception of time; but that was because Basil the Semi-Arian, who at that time had a great deal of interest and power with the Emperor, was of that opinion. For as soon as he was in disgrace, which happened soon after, (m) the pure Arians recovered the place which he formerly held in the esteem and favour of Constantius; and then they procured that Profession, which was the third of Sirmium, to be annulled, as Basil had served theirs, which was the second. Thus this wretched Prince, assuming to himself spiritual authority, became the

(†) κατὰ πάντα. (*) κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν, κατὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι.
(l) Athan. lib. de Synod. (m) Sozom. l. 4. c. 14. Epiph. Athan. l. de Syn-
jest

A. D. 359. jest and tool of the several sects of the Arians, who caused him to make different confessions of Faith, according as each party was in favour or disgrace with him; so that at Constantius's court, the prince's favour was the only rule of Faith. Which may serve to convince Princes, that their authority, which, makes them venerable and useful to their Subjects, when it is confined to temporal matters, renders them odious and obnoxious when it interferes with what is spiritual, and becomes a dishonour to them as soon as it is hurtful to Religion; like a great river, which, whilst it runs within its chanel, glides majestically along, conveying great advantages to all around it; but when it overflows and drowns the country, it not only does abundance of mischief, but ceases to be either pleasant or useful.

In the mean time the profession of Faith being received for a while by both parties, Valens undertook to carry it to Rimini, where the Western Bishops had received orders to assemble, (n) and Basil departed for Seleucia, where those of the East were to meet. At that place there met to the number of one hundred and sixty, amongst the rest St. Hilary, whom the Emperor's officers finding in Phrygia, whither he had been banished four years before, sent him to the Council, having had (o) a general order to send thither all the Bishops that they met with. Leonas, one of the most considerable Lords of the Court, and Lauricius, Governor of Province, assisted at it for the Emperor. Before they assembled, the Bishops, who looked upon those of the West as Sabellians, (p) because they maintained the *Consubstantiality* of the Word, desired St. Hilary to give them an account of his Faith; but when he had answered them, that he believed, as the Western Church did, in one God under three distinct persons, they let him take his place with the Bishops of Egypt, who, except George of Alexandria, were all orthodox.

(q) The first time of their sitting was the 27th of September, in which having at length resolved, after long disputes, to treat first of matters of Faith, Acacius of Cæsarea, who was for making himself the chief of a party, and was followed by Eudoxius, George of Alexandria, and thirty four others, offered to present a new profession of Faith, (r) quite contrary to that of Nice; but the Semi-Arians,

(n) Athan. lib. de Synod. Socr. l. 2. cap. 31. Sever. l. 2. Fort. in vit S. Hilar. (o) Socr. (p) Sever. (q) Socr. Epiph. hær. 70. p. 534. (r) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 31, 32. Hilar. l. cont. Const.

who were above an hundred in number, strenuously opposed it, because, excepting the *Consubstantiality* which was rejected by them, they approved all the rest of it. Upon which Silvanus of Tarsus cried out with all his might, that there was no need of a new Profession of Faith, and that they ought to keep to that of the Dedication of Antioch, in which, instead of *Consubstantial*, it is said, that the Son is the image of the Father's substance, without any difference. Then the Semi-Arians receiving this proposition with applause, ordered it to be read immediately. Upon which Acacius went out, followed by all that were of his party, and the Profession being nevertheless read in his absence, the Session ended.

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The next day they returned again very early to the Church of St. Theocles where the Council was held, fully determined to finish what they had so successfully begun against those of Acacius's party. And having shut themselves up there, for fear their adversaries should offer any violence to them, they all subscribed to the Profession of Faith: Acacius making great complaints to Leonas who was his friend, read to him his Profession in the presence of Lauricius, all along insisting that it was conformable to that that was drawn up in the Emperor's presence; (1) and after concerting the matter between them, on the third day Leonas assembled the Bishops of both parties. (2) Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, and some others, who had staid in the suburbs of Seleucia, being under some apprehension of their enemies, came thither that day; and some others were excluded, whom those of Acacius's party pretended were incapable of coming there, because they were condemned already. As soon as the assembly opened, Leonas told them, that he had a petition to offer, which was given him by Acacius, and that it was necessary that it should be read; to this they consented without difficulty, but were very much surprized, when instead of a petition they heard him read Acacius's Profession of Faith, in which he rejected the *Consubstantiality*, in opposition to the Catholics, the * *likeness in substance* against the Semi-Arians, the † *unlikeness*, contrary to the Anomæins, and confessed that the Son was like unto his Father, without adding, *in all things*, as in the Profession of Sirmium. This was the tenth Confession, made by a third party of Acacians, between the Semi-Arians and the pure Arians, though in reality they did not

(1) Epiph. (2) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 32. (*) *ὁμοιότης* † *ἀνόμοιος*.

A. D. 359. differ at all from these last, who made no difficulty of allowing, as well as Acacius, a resemblance in Will, which was what nobody disputed. For all the question was, whether the Son was like unto the Father in the Divine nature and his peculiar attributes, which the Acacians denied, as well as the Anomæans; but these using without disguise certain expressions that were too harsh and shocking to Constantius, who would by no means allow it to be said, that the Son of God was unlike to his Father, and but a creature, Acacius and his followers softened them for a while, in order to procure the Emperor's favour, but omitted not to reject them upon the first occasion, and openly to declare for the very blasphemies of pure Arianism, which they only disguised in other terms.

This Profession of Faith being read, was immediately signed by Acacius and the thirty six Bishops that followed him, but all the rest protested against it, and began to dispute, in a tumultuous manner, with the Acacians. And the dispute that arose amongst them lasting till night, and even all the day following, with a great deal of disorder: Leonas broke up the assembly, and would by no means return thither the following day, saying, with contempt, that he was sent by the Emperor to assist at a peaceable and well-ordered Council, and that if they pleased they might go into the Church without him to dispute, or rather trifle, according to custom. These are the very terms in which he spoke. The Acacians taking this opportunity to bring themselves off, refused to come again to the Council; upon which the rest being assembled, after having, to no purpose, cited them to answer to the crimes of which they were accused, they pronounced sentence of deposition against them, and made a deputation to the Emperor to give him an account of it.

But the Acacians had already prevented them, and being arrived at Constantinople before them, whither Constantius was come from Sirmium, they found it no difficulty to get an ascendant over him, and to persuade him, as they did, that Basil of Ancyra, with those of his faction, had hindered the peace, which was making throughout the Church, according to the profession of Faith which was made by agreement in his presence at Sirmium. Upon which the Emperor, by the advice of Acacius, immediately assembled a Synod of the neighbouring Bishops, and particularly of those of Bithynia; where were present the six deputies from the Council of Selencia, amongst whom was Basil, Eustathius of Sabasta, Eulysius of Cyzicus, and

and Sylvanus of Tarsus. Acacius there proposed another profession of faith which was the eleventh, and in which was rejected not only the *Consubstantiality and likeness of substance*, as in the third of Sirmium, but also the *hypostacy*, the *subsistence*, or *personality*, (u) because the Scripture takes no more notice of them, in regard to God, than of substance, and they only simply incerted, that the Son was God of God, like unto the Father which begat him, without adding the term *in all things*. However Constantius, who was then governed by Acacius, would have it signed: which (x) Basil not being able to bear, no more than that pure Arianism should be thus insensibly established again, he was about to speak to the Emperor with the same freedom that he formerly allowed him. But he soon perceived that he was prepossessed to his disadvantage; for upbraiding him with being an incendiary, and one that disturbed the peace of the Church, he commanded him to be silent.

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Eustathius represented to him that all this was nothing but Eudoxius's artifices, who had a mind to establish again the heresy of the Anomæans, whose protector he was, and to evince it, he produced one of his professions of Faith, in which he not only asserted, but also endeavoured to prove, that the Son was unlike to his Father. Eudoxius, without being surprized, impudently replied, by openly denying that it was his, affirming that Aëtius was the author of it, and protesting that he was ready to condemn it. The Emperor who had a mind to be informed of the truth, commanded them to send for Aëtius, who was always attending upon his patron. When they had given him an account of it, he hesitated at first, but soon after recovering himself by Eudoxius's being present, who kept his countenance, and thinking that he had procured their approbation of it, he boldly declared that he was the author of it; which he had no sooner done, when Constantius, who abhorred that impiety, banished him immediately to a desert place in Phrygia, and the Acacians, sacrificing him to their interest, solemnly pronounced an anathema against him.

But what most to be admired was, that Eulufius and Sylvanus disputing warmly against Acacius's profession of Faith, were so convinced by the force of truth, which displayed it self, notwithstanding that they maintained, by their arguments, to the Emperor's

(u) Ap. Socr. *ibid.* & Athan. *lib. de Syn.*(x) Theodor. *lib. 2. cap. 27.*

A. D. 359. face, that supposing that he believed, as he said he did, in opposition to the Anomæins, that the Son of God was not a Creature, or from nothing, or of a different essence from his Father, it must necessarily follow that he was not only like in substance, but also *consubstantial*. They had no sooner pronounced this word, than there was a terrible noise raised in the assembly by the Acacians, who exclaimed against them; and the Emperor flying into a great passion, threatened them with banishment, if they did not retract immediately. But those two worthy Bishops, having after a wonderful manner, suddenly become Catholics from Semi-Arians which they were before, and some others after their example, quitting the party of the Arians, bravely answered him, that it was in his power to take away their lives, but not to deprive them of the true Faith, and the ancient doctrine of their Ancestors, which they would never forsake. Upon which the Emperor caused them to be deposed, and gave the Bishoprick of Cyzicus to Eunomius, who was Secretary to Aëtius, and the intimate friend of Eudoxius. But that was not put in execution, because the City, who had a great value for their Bishop, opposed it, and that so effectually as to keep him with them; which they did also at another time, as will be seen in what follows.

The Acacians being desirous to improve so favourable an opportunity as was offered them, from the humour that Constantius was then in, (y) failed not to be even with their adversaries, and to depose them for divers feigned or real crimes, of which they caused them to be accused, and this was no difficult matter because, to say the truth, the greatest part of the Arian Bishops, as well the accusers, as those who were accused, were a very wicked sort of Men, who made no difficulty of committing the most horrid crimes, so that they could but procure themselves satisfaction. The chief of those who were condemned was Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebasta, in whose places they put Athanasius and Melitius, who became afterwards great defenders of the Nicene faith; Macedonius of Constantinople, (z) against whom Constantius was already much exasperated upon another account, namely, for the great disorders which he caused in the Imperial city, when he undertook to move the body of Constantine the great to another church, (a) and St. Cyril

(y) Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 34. Sozom. l. 4. cap. 23. (z) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 20.
(a) Sozom. cap. 24.

of Jerusalem, to whom Acacius was a declared enemy, because Cy- A. D. 350.
 ril being only an honorary Patriarch, and subject to the Church of
 Cæsarea, he endeavoured to withdraw himself from that jurisdiction,
 and to obtain the rights of a Metropolitan himself. The crimes of
 which they accused him are glorious marks of his virtue, and of the
 integrity of his Faith, in opposition to their calumnies, who have
 reckoned him amongst the Semi-Arians: For he was accused of
 maintaining the Consubstantiality of the Word, and of having sold
 the rich ornaments which were given to the church by Constantine
 the great. In truth, the holy Patriarch had done this to provide suste-
 nance for the poor in a year of famine; and Acacius having heard
 that a Comedian had made a magnificent habit of a piece of gold
 tissue, which formerly served the Patriarch for a cope, and that she
 had bought it of a Merchant, to whom St. Cyril had sold it, he
 made this a crime for which he was deposed. They put Herentius
 into his place; and that wicked wretch Eudoxius, as a recompence
 for his treachery, was put into the place of Macedonius. And (c)
 to compleat the triumph of the Acacians, Ulphilas Bishop of the
 Goths, who was then at Constantinople, and sat in the council, re-
 ceived their Confession out of complaisance, though he held the Ni-
 cene faith, which he had hitherto followed, having received it from
 Theophilus his predecessor, who was present at the great council of
 Nice. In short, Constantius, who would have the absolute disposal of
 matters of Faith, as well as of the affairs of his Empire, so far ap-
 proved this form, that he sent it to Rimini (c) to be signed by the
 Western Bishops, whom he still kept there as so many prisoners.

For whilst the Arians held the two Councils of Seleucia and Con-
 stantinople, the famous Council of Rimini was celebrated in Italy,
 (d) consisting of above four hundred Bishops, who came together
 from all the provinces of the West, and amongst whom there was
 but about fourscore Arians. The Emperor had given orders to Tau-
 rus, governor of Province, not to let them stir out of the City till
 they had all agreed upon one profession of Faith, and promised to
 make him Consul if he brought it about. Moreover he commanded
 him to supply them with plenty of all things that were necessary
 for their Journey; which every one of them accepted of, except the

(b) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 33. Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 23. (c) Athan. lib. de Synod.
 (d) See. lib. 2.

A. D. 359. Bishops of Gaul, who, for fear of pawning their Liberty, thought it more honourable to come at their own expence. Vincent of Capua, who had returned to his duty by renouncing the Communion of the Arians, together with Liberius, came thither to represent that Prelate, as he had done thirty years before for Silvester at the Council of Nice. At first the Arians separated themselves from the Catholics. These met in the principal Church, and those in another private one. (e) The Letters of Constantius were read by both parties, which gave orders to treat in the first place of matters of Faith, and afterwards to hear the causes of those Bishops who either made complaints or were accused.

After this, Valens and Ursacius, accompanied by Germanicus, Auxentius, Caius, and Demophilus, came to the assembly of the Catholics; and Valens, who was appointed to carry the third Confession of Sirmium, presenting it to the Fathers, in the Emperor's name, told them That as his Majesty had approved it, he expected them, all preceeding forms being abolished, to receive it also, according to the plain sense of the words, without any farther disputing about our Mysteries through vain subtleties, more becoming Sophisters than Christians, and without introducing unknown words, and novel expressions, which occasioned so much trouble and scandal. By this he plainly hinted at the word *Consubstantial*, instead of which, without making any farther mention of substance, he would have inserted only that the Son was like to the Father in all things. The Council after having taken time to consider that Form, and to gather the votes, answered the Deputies: (f) "That the Fathers were not assembled to be instructed over-again in what they were to believe, because by the Grace of God they had the true Faith, but only to confound and condemn those who endeavoured to corrupt it by their innovations. That it was therefore necessary for them to join with the Council, in order to anathematize, with one consent, all heresies whatsoever, beginning with that of Arius. And that to prevent seeking new occasions, as they daily did, for assembling of Councils, they ought to observe inviolably the determinations of the Nicene Fathers, whose Creed contained all that could be said, or that was necessary to be believed, upon the point in debate."

(e) Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 16. (f) Athan. l. de Syn. p. 539.

These Deputies, surprized at this answer, having replied that they would never consent to sign any other Form than that which they had presented, the Council proceeded to vote; after which they declared, with one consent, and without any one's differing from the common opinion, that they ought inviolably to keep to the decisions of the Council of Nice, (g) which fully contained what was to be believed upon the point in dispute. That they ought to retain the terms *Consubstantial* and *Substance*, and preserve their signification as an unmoveable point of Faith. That Valens and Ursacius, Germanicus, Auxentius and Caius, who, in the Form which they had presented, maintained a new doctrine, which was quite contrary to that of the Council, were Hereticks, and cut off from the Communion of the Church. To this they added anathemas against the detestable doctrine of Arius, which they reduced to a certain number of propositions; afterwards they sent ten Deputies to Constantius, in which, after having represented to him the reason of the Sentence which they pronounced, they besought him, to give the necessary orders for their return, and to hold fast to what the Church had determined ever since the time of Constantine the great, without obliging them for the future, to leave their several Churches to assemble in Councils which, they said, after that of Nice, were entirely useless.

But the Arians, who held a separate Council, sent Ursacius and Valens, with eight other Deputies likewise to Court, who arrived before those of the Council, and persuaded the Emperor, who was very much exasperated that they would not receive the Form of Sirmium, to detain the Bishops a great while at Rimini, giving him hopes that the inconveniencies which they suffered there would tire them at length, and force them to come to an accommodation. (h) He therefore wrote to the Council, a great while after, that he could not give audience to their Deputies, whom he had ordered to stop at Adrianople, till he returned from the war, which he was obliged to wage with the Barbarians, who had entered into the territories of the Empire. That after he had heard them at leisure, out of the hurry of a war, he would signify his pleasure to the Fathers of the Council of Rimini, where they were to expect his orders. The Fathers returned him answer, with no less resolution than respect, that what they had determined in the Council, and given him an account of

(g) Athan. lib. de Synod. Hilar. pag. lib. 2. Sever. l. 2. Sozom. lib. 4. c. 16, & 18. (h) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 29. Sozom. l. 2. cap. 18. Theodor. l. 2. c. 19.

A. D. 359. by their Deputies, they would never alter ; and that they then most humbly intreated him, since there was no farther business for them, to permit them to return, before the winter, to their Churches, which could not bear the absence of their Pastors for so long a time. So that from that time it might be said, that the Council of Rimini was ended.

Constantius, who had a mind to triumph over that Council, instead of going against the Barbarians, began the war which he designed to make upon those Bishops. To this purpose he caused the Court Bishops, with those in the Neighbourhood, and the ten Arian deputies, to assemble at Nice, a little town in Thracia, where he had the form of Sirmium confirmed ; Valens, who was then in favour, having caused the term, *in all things*, which displeased him, to be taken out of it, leaving no more than that single expression by which (i) the Son was acknowledged to be like the Father ; and then he made great boasts of it after a very ridiculous manner, calling it the Nicene faith. Afterwards they undertook to have it signed by the deputies of the Council, who were most of them young men ; and they used such threatnings with them, and offered them so many indignities, besides all that they suffered from the severity of the winter season, that they consented at length to receive that profession of Faith, after which the Emperor sent them back to Rimini, together with Valens and the ten Arian deputies, to oblige the Catholick Bishops to subscribe to it.

They had already been detained there like prisoners several months, undergoing extraordinary hardships, without any form of a council, or appearance of liberty, remaining. For (k) Taurus the governor had orders to detain them captives till they had signed, and to send the most obstinate into banishment, if they did not exceed the number of fifteen. They nevertheless persisted still in their first resolution, and at that time even refused to receive their own deputies to communion with them. But that resolution did not last. For the example of the deputies corrupted a great many, who together with them, joined themselves to Valens and the Arians ; who, growing stout by the success of their affairs, seized the great church where the Catholicks used before to assemble : The intreaties and threatnings of Taurus daily gained over some, who increased the party of Valens ; so that they all began to stagger in their resolution ;

(i) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 29. Theod. l. 2. 21. Hilar. p. ad. Auxen. Athan. Epic. ad Afric.

(k) Sever. l. 2.

and there hardly remained any but Phæbadus of Agen and Servatius of Tongres, who prevented the rest from deserting, by protesting that they would rather undergo banishment and the most cruel punishment, than receive the Arian form, when Valens resolved with himself to speak to them after this manner: (l) "Will you then alone hinder the Western church from uniting with that of the East, under the false pretence which you make, of detesting an heresy, which in regard to us is only imaginary? (m) We condemn Arius, and Arianism, and are Catholicks as well as you. All that we desire is to avoid expressions that are not in Scripture, and which are the cause of our disorders. Make no mention of (n) *substance*, nor *hypostasis*, nor *coeternal*, nor *consubstantial*, which are never named in Scripture, and then propose what you will for us to acknowledge or condemn, and we are ready to do it, and to be the first to anathematize the errors of Arius, which you lay to our charge." Thereupon he began, with a loud voice, to pronounce anathema's against all the blasphemies of Arius one after another; and every one answered him with great acclamations. Afterwards he added, (o) "Do you desire any thing more? That which you have most at heart is the condition of a creature, which you imagine that we ascribe to the Son of God. To remove that pretence also, and to oblige you after that to unite your selves with us, and subscribe all together to the same confession of faith, I declare to you that we acknowledge that the Word is God, begotten of God before all time, and that he is not a creature as other creatures are; (p) and whoever shall say that the Son of God is a creature as other creatures are, let him be an anathema."

Then the whole church resounded with the voices of the Bishops of both parties, who repeated the same, and every one applauded Valens for finding out the means of uniting the two Churches. For the Catholicks thought that they had very sincerely renounced Arianism, by confessing that the Son of God was not a creature; and thereupon, without farther examination into the matter, enjoyed at having as they thought, so good an opportunity, of re-

(l) Sever. 1. 2.
cap. 18.

(o) Sever.

(m) Hier. Dial. adver. Luck.
(p) Hier. Ibid.

(n) Sozom. 1. 4.

A. D. releasing themselves from the slavery under which they groaned, 359. and which was become insupportable, they consented to suppress the term *Consubstantial*, and returned to their Churches, giving room to the Arians to report about, as they did, that the Council of Rimini, which in reality had ceased a long time, had abolished the Nicene faith, and declared the Word to be a Creature.

In truth, as soon as the Fathers were withdrawn, Valens boasted that he had drawn the Fathers of Rimini into his opinion. That it was not said, that the Son of God was not a creature, but that he was not a creature as all other creatures are, and that that itself was acknowledging that he was so in effect, but much more excellent than others, and in a degree of perfection which they did not arrive to. So that those Fathers, who besides had basely suppressed the term (r) *Consubstantial*, which was the mark of the Catholick religion, perceived at last, when it was too late, that equivocation and the heretical turn that was given to those words, which they had, simply and honestly, understood in a Catholick sense; and they were in the utmost concern at it. And it was then that the world, as St. Jerome says, was extremely surprized, to find themselves of a sudden, whether they would or no, become Arians, though they were not so in reality, because the Bishops and their people always professed the Catholick truth; and their seeming to embrace Arianism proceeded merely from equivocal words, which might easily be wrested in favour of that doctrine; which was the grounds of the triumphing of the Arians, who took occasion from thence, to make it believed that a whole Oecumenical council had approved their doctrine, and rejected the Nicene confession. But it is very certain, that, as that Council, whilst its liberty remained, (s) was deemed lawful, received by the Church, and applauded by the Fathers; so, as soon as it had entirely lost its liberty, after having declared that there was nothing farther to be done, it was no longer any other than a wretched Assembly, composed of Arians, who acted as Tyrants, and some Catholics over whom they tyrannized, (t) and that the same holy Fathers, who have applauded the beginning of that assembly, abhorred it in the end, calling it (u) the remains of a Council.

(r) Dial. adv. Lucifer. (s) Athan. lib. de Synod. & Epist. ad Afric. Ambros. ep. 32. ad Valens. (t) Athan. ibid. Athan. ad Afric. (u) Sever. l. 2. August. Confess.

(x) But in the mean time the Arians valued themselves mightily upon it; and as they called their meeting at Philippopolis, the council of Sardica; so suppressing as much as they could the true council of Rimini, where anathema's were thundered out against them by the general consent of all the Fathers, they gave that illustrious title to this last assembly, which was without order, without form, without approbation, without liberty, and consequently without authority. Constantius also having received the last determinations of that Council, was so well pleased with them, that he confirmed them out of hand, by virtue of the power which he assumed to himself of absolutely deciding matters of Faith, (y) and began to persuade himself, that that was the only means to make all things quiet, because abolishing the words *Substance*, and *Consubstantial*, is the only means, said he, not to make use of terms that are not in Scripture; and imploying the word *Like* instead thereof, was expressing the same thing after a different manner; so that both sides may be satisfied. Thus did he blindly argue, because instead of acting the part of an Emperor, he took upon him that of a Bishop, and determined about what he did not understand. For there is a very wide difference between those two terms, and between the things which they signify; and the Acacians, who desired nothing more for the establishing of their heresy, and did not think that the Fathers of Rimini would have proceeded so far, said, with great encomiums, (z) that there was nothing better intended than the Form of Rimini. Upon which the Emperor undertook to have it signed by all the Bishops, who were at that time assembled at Constantinople, and by the Semi-Arians themselves, who were come from Seleucia, and protested that they would never give up the term (*) *Homoionion*, or *Substance*. But they had not courage enough to resist the Emperor, who, though the next day, being the first of the year, he was to perform the ceremony of making the new Consuls, nevertheless spent all that day, and great part of the night in causing the Bishops to subscribe to the Form of Rimini, to which the Acacians farther added, that from thence-forward, when God was spoke of, no more mention should be made either of *Essence* or

(x) Max. l. 1. c. 3. (y) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 22, 23. (z) Sozom. cap. 22. (*) *ὁμοιότης*.

A. D. 359. *Substance*, and that all other Forms whatsoever, even those that might afterwards be made, should be suppressed from that moment.

All things being thus performed, to the great satisfaction of the Arians, Valens received orders from the Emperor, to oblige the Italian Bishops, who were not at the Council, to sign the Form, and to drive all those from their Churches who should refuse to obey.

This related chiefly to Liberius Bishop of Rome, (a) against whom Potamius and Epictetus, the most insolent amongst the Arians, had very much declaimed at Rimini. (b) Valens failed not to acquit himself very exactly of a commission which was so agreeable to him, and which he himself had procured. He did his utmost to persuade Liberius, but he found him quite another man from what he was at Beræa and Sirmium. That holy Prelate, who had re-assumed all the courage which he had at Milan, when he withstood Constantius, was under no apprehensions of being prevailed upon by the threats of Valens, who finding him determined in his resolution of maintaining the Council of Nice even unto Death, and of always condemning the Arians, caused him to be driven out of Rome; (c) upon leaving which, the holy Bishop, that he might be the nearer to his Flock, hid himself in the Catacombs, where he continued till after the death of Constantius.

This was the signal of the persecution which the catholick Bishops underwent from the Arians, whom they endeavoured by force and all manner of ill usage, to subscribe to the last determinations of Rimini. But if they made some of them yield, they also made a great many become Martyrs, and Confessors of JESUS CHRIST, amongst whom, to omit innumerable others, the chief were (d) Gaudentius Bishop of Rimini, whom they killed by stoning him, and beating him with clubs, because he publicly excommunicated the Arians; (e) Rufinian, a very holy Bishop, whom that cruel and insolent man Epictetus (f) compelled to run before his chariot, till his veins bursting by the violence of the motion he expired; and Maximus Bishop of Naples, who was driven into Banishment, notwithstanding the weak condition which he was then in, and who ne-

(a) Ap. Hilar in fragm. (b) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 18. (c) A^d Liber. (d) Martyr Rom. (e) vid. Till p. 125. (f) Moricel de Schism. Urcis. & Damas.

vertheless had strength enough left to thunder out an anathema at parting, with a terrible voice, against Zozimus, whom the Arians put in his place. A. D. 360.

It is also said, that so just an excommunication soon took effect. For as he attempted to celebrate the holy mysteries in the great Church, his tongue came out of his mouth quite to the root, so that he could not draw it in again till he was got out of the church; this happening to him several times, he was forced to quit the place which he sacrilegiously possessed. Nor can it be said that this is one of those wonderful accidents, which are much more easily related and hearkened to, than proved and believed; for he that left us an account of this wonder in writing, at the same time that it happened, tells us very wisely, that he does not expect it to be believed upon his word; but that Zozimus was then still alive, and in good health, having the free use of his speech and reason; that he might be examined about the truth of it; and that therefore he should not be so rash as to alledge such a thing of one who might put him to shame, by confuting it if there was any room for a denial. I think also that I may be allowed to say, that, when I report a miracle of such moment, nobody, even amongst the most incredulous, should take upon them to accuse me of weakness.

But the most surprizing of any thing at this juncture is, that, amongst so many holy Bishops that were exiled and punished, St. Hilary should be sent back to his Church. For being about to return to Constantinople with the other Bishops of the Synod of Seleucia, he presented three petitions to the Emperor, to give him leave to dispute with the Arians in his presence. But they being afraid of his knowledge and sharpness of wit, managed matters so dextrously with the Emperor to prevent this stroke, that he sent him back into Gaul, yet without revoking his sentence of banishment, and, as it is very probable, without having seen the Book which that holy Bishop wrote against him, in a stile, which certainly in these days, would not be approved in an Author writing against a private person, even his enemy, much less in a subject against his sovereign, though he were a more open enemy to Religion than Constantius. But this is to shew us that we must not imagine that Saints, who are men like our selves, are without faults, or that all their actions are patterns for our imitation.

Whilst

A. D. Whilst they were now persecuting the Western Bishops so cruelly,
 360. there arose a much more dangerous persecution in the East, by reason of a new heresy, which being one of the consequences of Arianism, was likewise soon adopted by the Arians. It was that of Macedonius, who was first deposed from the See of Constantinople, and from an Heretick and Semi-Arian, which he was before, became himself the broacher of an heresy, by denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and maintaining that he was no more than a Spirit created equal to the Angels, to be the instrument of the Son. The Bishops whom the Acacians had condemned at the Council of Constantinople, joined themselves to his party, which soon made a very considerable progress, because the Bishops that were of it, excepting Macedonius, who died soon after, and Basil of Ancyra, Eusebius of Cyzicus, and Eustathius of Sebasta, were men whose seeming sanctity and austerity, easily seduced the people, who usually judge of the purity of (g) mens faith and doctrine by their religious and austere appearance.

This is what gave the most reputation to this new sect, particularly in the person of a man of quality named Marathonius, who, having quitted the office of Paymaster of the army, in which he had acquired great riches, was grown one of those remarkable devotees, who are for nothing but what is extraordinary, in order to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, and so easily come into any innovation. This man therefore, after he had gained abundance of credit, by the acts of charity, which he publicly performed in his visits to the sick and poor, of whom he took a great deal of care, went and put himself under the direction of Eustathius Bishop of Sebasta, who led a very austere life, together with certain Monks whom he instructed, and who blindly followed his opinion. Marathonius, pleased with the manner of Life of this heretical Bishop, placed himself amongst his Monks, and so devoted himself to his heresy, sacrificing to him all his interest and riches for the advancement of it, that he caused a Monastery to be built at Constantinople, on purpose to bring up persons to support that party, which he increased so much that it was for some time even called by his name,

(g) Sozom. l. 4. cap. 28.

Moreover,

Moreover, Eunomius looking upon himself as a Bishop, with boldness and impunity published the impiety of Aëtius; and on the other side Eudoxius and Acacius of Cæsarea, under pretence of causing the form of Rimini to be every where received, endeavoured also for their parts, but with greater artifice, to re-establish the grosser Arianism, because they added to that Form certain clauses by way of explanations through which they insensibly spread that poison. And as Melitius, whom they had made (*b*) Patriarch of Antioch in the place of Eudoxius, believing that he would second their endeavours, began to preach the Nicene Faith, having been suddenly converted by a sort of a miracle, they drove him from his see, and put (*i*) Eunomius the first disciple of Arius into his place. It was upon this occasion that the Acacians, who had already got the absolute ascendant over Constantius, throwing off the mask, openly declared that the Son of God was not like to his Father; which was what that Prince, who always before expressed a great abhorrence of that blasphemy of the Anomæans would never suffer till then. Thus, after having held so many pretended councils of his Arians, in which twelve different Professions were made, within less than twenty years space, from the first that was made at the dedication at Antioch, he at length permitted the very worst of them to be published in that wretched council of Antioch, which was the last that he had assembled. For whilst he was so scandalously disturbing the Christian religion, God raised him up a Rival and an Enemy in his own bosom, who disturbed not only his Empire, but the whole quiet of his Life, which he lost at length going to revenge that enterprize. 341.

It was now five years since (*k*) Julian, with great reputation, first made war in Gaul and Germany against the Barbarians, whom he had overcome in several battles, when Constantius, who would not willingly allow any one but himself to gain so much glory, endeavoured to draw off his best troops from him, giving orders for their marching into the East, under pretence that he had occasion for them in the war against the Persians. But the Soldiers, who loved Julian, and were not pleased with Constantius, having refused to obey, and seeing themselves very much pressed by the officers that were sent to conduct them, went in a tumultuous manner into Paris

(*b*) Sozom. l. 4. c. 22. 28. (*i*) Athan. lib. de syn. (*k*) Ammian. Zafi l. 3. Marcell l. 21.

A. D. and surrounded the palace of Julian, and proclaiming him Augustus, 360. forced him to accept the Empire, which he refused either out of duty, or out of cunning seemed to do so, the better to engage the soldiers to support the choice which they had made.

Constantius recieved this news at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, as he was going with his army against the Persians. He flew into a very great passion, and was in dispute some time, whether leaving the Persians he should not turn his arms against Julian. But not doubting but that he should easily put an end to this, as he had done to other U-surpers he continued his march. He even used very disdainfully, some time after, the Ambassadors who were sent by Julian to give him an account of what had happened at Paris, and to desire him to allow of his being his Colleague in the Empire, because it was impossible for him to hinder his army from proclaiming him Emperor. But he sent them back abruptly with no other answer but only this, that Julian should not fail to be divested with all speed of the (1) ensigns of the Empire, and be satisfied that he was so favourable to him as to give him his life. After which he went to the war against the Persians, where having, according to custom, obtained great advantages, he came and passed the winter at Antioch.

But Julian took quite different measures. For, far from quitting the Empire, he celebrated the fifth year of his being Cæsar in Royal robes, wearing a Diadem of precious stones. And to secure to himself the people of the West, who were zealously affected to the true Christian religion, he on the Epiphany solemnly assisted at the Divine mysteries, (m) though he had already renounced Christianity in his heart, and sacrificed privately in the night-time to Idols, with his most intimate friends: Which shews that that prince, who in other respects, was master of great qualifications, had no other Religion than that which was convenient for his interest, or satisfied his passions. After this, having appeased the Gauls, and secured Italy, he marched into Pannonia, resolving to pursue his purpose, and to go and attack his enemy even in the East, perceiving plainly, that he had now no terms to make; and that he must of necessity either die or conquer.

Constantius having heard this news at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, whither he had advanced to fight Sapor King of Persia, if he at-

(1) Zosim. (m) Ammian.

tempted to pass the Tygris, was very much at a loss what to do: *A. D.*
 For on the one side he durst not turn back, for fear of having a 361.
 powerful enemy behind him, who was become insolent by the advantages that he had gained over him the last year; and on the other side if he went about to dare him, he had reason to fear that, whilst he was, to no purpose, defending the Empire against a stranger, his own relation would usurp it from him. In this perplexed state he resolved to divide his troops, one part of which he sent immediately to Thrace against Julian; but the sudden retreat of Sapor, who because he had not had good omens, led back his army into Persia, delivered him from his perplexity, and made him resolve to set forward at that very instant with all his forces against the rebels, not in the least doubting of victory, so confident was he both of the courage expressed by his army, whom he had harangued, and of his own good fortune, by which he had always been victorious in civil wars. He proceeded therefore by long marches, giving orders about every thing with the greatest eagerness imaginable, till arriving at Tarsus, he felt a slight fit of a fever, which he did not regard, thinking that he should remove it by the exercise, which he must use in so toilsome a journey. (n) But as he was going out of Mopsucrenes, a small town situated at the foot of Mount Taurus, in the confines of Cilicia, his fever, increased so much, and (o) became so violent, that they could scarce touch him, his body being all in a flame. When he perceived that there was no remedy for his disease, he bewailed his fate that deprived him of life in the flower of his age, in the midst of so powerful an army, and forced him to leave the Empire of the world to his enemy, whom he abhorred for his ingratitude, and was just going to punish in order to satisfy his vengeance. He nevertheless mastered his passion, and since he had no child but that which his wife Faustina, whom he had married after the death of Eusebia, was then big with, he declared Julian his lawful successor, to prevent the Roman Empire from becoming a prey to the ambition of his Officers; after which he desired to be baptized, having all along deferred receiving that Sacrament to the last moment of his life; (p) but he received it from Euzoius the pretended Patriarch

(n) Victor in Const. p. 566. (o) Amm. l. 21 Hier. ep. 3. ad Heliod.
 (p) Athan. l. de syn.

A. D. of Antioch, the oldest and most wicked of all the Arians. However it is said, that he shewed signs of repentance and concern for having followed those new opinions, which had disturbed the peace of the Church; (q) and having thereupon fallen into a great agony he gave up the ghost on the fiftenth day of October, in the forty fourth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign.

The opinions that have been given of this Prince are very various. St. Athanasius, who wrote very modestly of him as long as he lived, speaking of his death says, that he persisted to the last in the Arian impiety. St. Hilary, who composed a book against him whilst he was living, says all the evil of him that could be spoken of a Pagan tyrant, even calling him the wickedest of men, a false sheep, a ravening wolf, and Antichrist. (r) St. Gregory of Nazianzen, who wrote a great while after his death, relates, on the contrary, all the good of him that can be imagined to be said of the best man that ever was; so far as to say, that he exceeded all the good Princes of former ages, that he was partaker of the glory of the Saints in heaven, that the voices of Angels singing were heard on Mount Taurus whilst his body was carried over those mountains to Constantinople, and that no one had so great a desire of enlarging the kingdom of JESUS CHRIST. And as for the disturbances about Religion, he throws all the blame of them upon those who deceived him; adding, that all that he did was merely through a good intention of extinguishing Schism, and uniting all Bishops in one Opinion.

I know what respect is due to those great Saints; but at the same time I am not ignorant of what is required by the laws of History, which does not allow of invectives nor exaggerations, but simply represents the matters of facts, without entering into the merits of a cause, or enquiring into the intention, whether it be to accuse or condemn. I have faithfully related the actions of this Prince, and such circumstances as cannot be disputed. It is my Readers business to form their judgment from this, and it is not my business to direct them what inferences to make, much less to judge of that which is known only to God. I shall only say, that if that Prince did design to extinguish the Schism, he is not at all excusable for not having had recourse to the only means that he had

(q) Greg. Naz. or. de laud. Athan. (r) Orat. 1. & 2. in Julian.

of succeeding, which was, to cause an inviolable observation of the determinations of the Council of Nice. For having forsaken that rule, which is the bond of the union, and of the unity of the Faith, he was always changing his Creed, and continually running from one error to another, till he had made twelve different Forms, every one of which was heretical; which may serve for a lesson to all Christians, that they can never have any thing certain or steady in Religion, till they come to the determinate point of the Church's authority.

But since this Prince has had so great a share in this History, we cannot refuse giving a description of him to posterity. (1) His height was above the middle stature, his complexion swarthy, his eyes lively and piercing, his constitution strong and robust; he was very active and expert at all manner of exercises in which he excelled; especially in breaking an horse, drawing an arrow, or throwing a dart; however always affecting an haughty gravity, which made him look like a statue in publick to procure the greater respect, without ever descending from that high exaltation of Princely majesty, to make himself a little popular, which made him hated by his subjects. As for other particulars, he was crafty, vigilant, sober, extremely chaste and industrious; applying himself incessantly to business, overlooking his officers, and taking care that every one exactly discharged his duty, without incroaching upon others. But there was abundance of mixture amongst his good qualities; for he was timorous, suspicious and cruel; taking pleasure in wracking people by horrible sorts of torments, and destroying those by a lingering death whom he in the least suspected to have invaded his authority: He was more especially unmerciful towards his subjects, whom he exposed to the avarice and robbery of his collectors and tribute-gatherers, who procured him more curses than money; he was of a light unconstant temper, bestowing very little, presently taking back what he had bestowed, and having no regard to honest men, whom he did not prefer; giving up himself entirely to the Eunuchs, who, for a few empty praises, gained an absolute power over his mind. And as for his Religion, the Pagans themselves owned, that he corrupted the purity of it, by his many perplexing Councils, (2) in which the Bishops, who were continually going to

(1) Amm. (2) Ammian l. 21. in. fin.

A. D. and fro in the publick carriages, to their great loss, used to form, 361. every one according to his own fancy, (*u*) such Creeds as they liked best.

The Emperor's body was conveyed to Constantinople (*x*) by Jovian, the Great master of the Imperial palace, with great State; attended by some of the Clergy singing night and day, and carrying lighted tapers and flambeaus, according to the custom of the Church. Julian, who had already taken possession of the Empire in that great city, came with his army to receive it, being in mourning, and having laid aside his Diadem out of respect. And after all imaginable honours were paid to him, he was put into the tomb of his father Constantine the Great, in the Church of the holy Apostles.

(*u*) *Amm. ib.* (*x*) *Gregor. Naz.*



BOOK V.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K V.



S OON as (a) Julian found himself in quiet possession of the empire at Constantinople, where he had been received on the 11th of December with the general applause of the people of all ranks, he publicly owned that he had renounced the Christian, and embraced the Pagan religion; for he had then nothing to fear either from Constantius, or the army which he had brought with him out of Gaul, who for the most part were Christians, but were at that time entirely at his disposal: (b) Nay, he even caused himself to be washed publicly in the blood of victims that had been sacrificed to idols, as it were to blot out, by that execrable

A. D.
361.

(a) Amm. l. 22. Socr. l. 3. c. 1. Sozom. l. 5. c. 2.

(b) Gregor. Naz.

A.D. ceremony, all the marks of his baptismal vow, (c) which he had
 362. privately renounced ten years before. In the next place, he did his utmost to restore the worship of the false gods, and destroy Christianity, tho' he did not then employ those instruments of cruelty which had been made use of by the tyrants his predecessors against the Christians, as he afterwards did, giving them the name of Galileans. He imagined his point would be more easily obtained by fair means, and therefore he had recourse to all manner of artifices to gain them over to him, especially by depriving them of all offices, dignities, and favours, which were conferred upon none but such as came over again to Paganism. He also made an edict, prohibiting any violence from being offered them, and recalled all the bishops, both Semi-Arians and Catholics, whom Constantius had banished, exhorting them, out of a malicious design, to live in amity together, every one following his own opinion: For knowing very well that they would never agree amongst themselves, he thought to make use of them the better to destroy one another. However, the Arians met with the worst treatment: (d) For as they were the most powerful under Constantius, whose memory was very odious, on account of his intolerable exactions and the avarice of his ministers, he had a mind to sacrifice them to the publick hatred, and his own private revenge, in hopes of gaining thereby the affections of his new subjects.

Accordingly he ordered that Prince's chief ministers to be proceeded against, some of them being condemned to banishment, as was the fate of Taurus, who had been made Consul as a reward for the violent measures he had taken at the Council of Ariminum; others put to death, as that wicked wretch Eusebius the eunuch, who was one of the greatest protectors of Arianism, against whom Julian had a particular enmity, because he had occasioned the death of his brother Gallus, and would have done the like for him, had not his life been saved by Eusebia the Empress, who took him under her protection. At the same time he turned out of the palace the abominable herd of eunuchs, who before had the management of every thing, and together with them all the officers which these effeminate wretches kept to administer to their luxury, saying, that one of each sort was sufficient to supply the

(c) *Julia. Epist. ad Alex.*(d) *Amm.*

whole palace, where he would have every body live like philosophers, after his example. A. D.
362.

(e) But from one extreme he ran into another; for instead of that princely magnificence, which was remarkable in every thing at Constantius's court, there was nothing to be seen now but rhetoricians, philosophers, and such foolish slaves to fame, who flock'd to him from every province, swarming with vermine, and having nothing but their philosophical cloak, all in rags, to cover them; so that neither his palace nor his person shewed any thing of the majesty of the Empire; by which means he became very contemptible; but what contributed much more to it was the infamous company of prostitutes, of both sexes, and other effeminate creatures, (f) with whom he was often surrounded as he passed the streets, instead of guards, under pretence of restoring the rites of Venus and Adonis, and the ministers of their sacrifices, to their former honour. (g) He nevertheless treated Aëtius, the most obstinate of all the Arians, very favourably, causing him to return from banishment, and writing a very kind letter to him, because he had openly espoused the interest of his brother Gallus, and because he thought he would be a more proper instrument to ruin the Christian religion than even the Pagans themselves.

(b) He also gave a very honourable reception to Eubolius, famous for his skill in rhetorick, but much more so for his villany, being one that was always of his prince's religion: For from being a Pagan he turned Arian, to recommend himself to Constantius; and afterwards became again a very zealous Pagan, in order to gain the favour of Julian; after whose death, when he saw Christianity uppermost under Jovian, he declared himself a penitent Catholick, and throwing himself on the ground before the door of the church, he cried out in a lamentable tone to those that came in, that they should tread upon him as the salt that had lost its savour, which, according to the Gospel, is to be trodden under foot of men. He was not, however, so much a Pagan during the life of Julian, as to forget his old friends the Arians; for finding himself to be sufficiently in the prince's favour, he wrote to him in behalf of the Arians of Edessa, all whose effects the emperor

(e) Socr. l. 3. c. 1. (f) Chrysoſt. Or. adv. Gent. (g) Jul. Epist. ad Aët.
(b) Socr. l. 3. c. 11. Jul. Epist. ad Eubol.

A D. 362. had caused to be seized, because, according to custom, they had committed very great outrages upon some other hereticks, whom they plundered. But the emperor returned him an answer, in which he made a jest both of them and him, saying, That the law of the Christians ordered them to give away all that they had, that they might the more easily enter into the kingdom of heaven, he was therefore willing to do them that good office in order to assist them in it, and disburthen them of the great riches which incumbered them, and brought them into great danger of being deprived of that kingdom, and that, without doubt, they would not be so troublesome to his soldiers, amongst whom he had ordered them to be distributed.

He jested after a much more impious manner with Maris of Chalcedon, who always continued an obstinate Arian, and was the intimate friend of Eusebius of Nicomedia; but however, upon this occasion he performed a very glorious action. He was grown blind with age, and being informed of Julian's impiety, whom he had often seen at the solemn service of the Christian religion, he caused himself to be carried to Constantinople, (*i*) where, as the emperor was one day publicly sacrificing to Fortune, he reproached him very severely before every body with his idolatry; calling him Impious, Atheist, and Apostate. This probably was the first time that this infamous surname was given him, which still dishonours his memory, and doubtless will ever continue so to do. Julian being then in a humour to act the philosopher, affected to be unconcerned, and to express a generous disdain at those reproaches; and adding blasphemy to his wicked jest, *Your Galilean*, said he to him, *will not however restore your eye-sight to you. It is for that itself*, replied Maris immediately, *that I heartily thank him, esteeming myself happy in being blind, that I might not be forced to behold you; you, I say, who have so miserably forsaken the worship of the true God for that of devils.* To which Julian turning his back to him, made no reply, either through shame, or as being engaged in discourse, having begun to make a jest of it, and to glory in his philosophical patience, (*k*) which however he did not always maintain: For he sometimes suffered himself to be

(*i*) Socr. l. 3. c. 10. Sozom. l. 5. c. 4.

(*k*) Greg. Naz. Or. 1. 8. 2. in Jul.

furiously transported, when his anger got the better of his philosophy, which came too late to his assistance. A. D.
362.

Julian in the beginning of his reign was not, or pretended not to be willing, to have the Christians blood spilt, either as being apprehensive of their number, or that he could not endure their having the glory of martyrdom, or that he had heard that their blood was wonderfully fruitful in producing many more than their executions destroyed, or, in short, that he had a mind to gain the character of a merciful and moderate prince: But be this as it will, it is however certain, that notwithstanding this conduct of his, he caused the Christians throughout the East to be massacred after (l) an horrible manner by the Gentiles, who took this occasion to revenge themselves for the destruction of their temples, and the overthrow of their idols. And as they confounded together the Arians and Catholicks, under the title of Christians, which was common to them both, there were several of them tortured and massacred in this cruel persecution; and, amongst the rest, two, whose tragical death was very famous in those times, but each after a very different manner.

The first was Mark, bishop of Arethusa in Syria, sufficiently known in this history, for the first and third formulary of *Sirmium*, (m) of which he was the author, with the rest of the *Semi-Arians*, who were uppermost at that time. The many commendations that are given of him, for his remarkable piety, (n) and the elogium which *St. Gregory Nazianzen* made on him, give us reason to believe, that, as he before came very near to the *Catholicks*, he came entirely over to them, when he saw the horrible confusion into which his party was thrown, by their changing continually, and the great variety and alterations of their confessions of Faith. He was then arrived at a very great age, which made him more venerable by his extraordinary virtues than his grey hairs; and the Pagans hated him extremely, as well on account of his having converted abundance of people to the Faith, as because he had occasioned the destruction of their magnificent temple at *Arethusa*. Finding himself persecuted by these furious wretches, who had caused him to be condemned by Julian, either to restore

(l) Theodor. l. 3. c. 6.
Or. 1. in Jul.

(m) Sozom. l. 5. c. 9.

(n) Gregor. Naz.

A. D. the temple to the condition it was in, or to pay so much money as
 362. was requisite for that purpose: He being both unable and unwilling to perform either of these, because of his poverty, and lest he should contribute to their idolatry, resolved to withdraw and hide himself, to avoid being thus persecuted by them. But when he heard that they were going to meddle with his friends, who were in danger on his account, he came and presented himself to this barbarous and exasperated people, who falling upon him with inconceivable fury, as well men as women, and even the little children without distinction, after having offered him numberless indignities, and wounded him in all parts of his body with their teeth and nails, and with whips, and the bodkins which the children made use of in writing, they rubbed him all over with honey, and in that condition hoisted him up in the air in a wicker basket; from whence, whilst he was stung in all parts of his body by the flies, who sucked out the little blood which he had left, he looked down and said, as it were in triumph upon those cruel wretches, who tormented him, and foretold them the evils which they would hereafter suffer, as a punishment for their crime. And tho' they would have accepted of a trifle for form's sake, and his friends proffer'd to give whatever might be demanded, he peremptorily refused, and chose rather to suffer the most exquisite torments, nay death itself, than to have a single farthing contributed in his name to the rebuilding a heathen temple. This was an action truly glorious, because a man of the most consummate virtue, endured with heroick constancy, merely for a good cause, the greatest tortures his enemies could inflict.

Far different from this was the death of that impious wretch George, whom the Arians with so much fury and cruelty seated on the throne of St. Athanasius in Alexandria. (o) That pretended bishop exercised all kind of violence, as well against heathens as Christians, to gratify his insatiable avarice. He, under feigned pretences, seized on the goods of orphans, and shared the booty with the officers of Constantius, who were the instruments of his oppression. He was farmer of the revenue arising from salt, flax, paper, salt-petre, and other commodities, which occasioned a great trade in Egypt, and to raise to himself exorbitant gains, he was

(o) Epiph. Hær. 76.

guilty of the severest exactions, inſomuch that he invented coffins, which he ſold at an extravagant price, without which no corps was permitted to be interred. (p) He had almoſt perſuaded Conſtantius, who then wanted money, that in the right of Alexander, who built the city, and whoſe ſucceſſor he was, he muſt be proprietor of all the houſes in Alexandria; and that the inhabitants being only his tenants, were accountable to him for the rents. Theſe unjuſt and violent proceedings enraged every body againſt him, more eſpecially the Heathens, ſince beſides the injuries which they ſuffered in common with the Chriſtians, he under the pretence of piety, pillaged their temples. But what exceedingly exaſperated, and made them deſperate, was his diſcovery of a ſecret place, where they uſed to ſacrifice in the night-time humane victims to their god Mithra. This abomination (as he ought to do) he expoſed to the view of the whole world, producing the ſkulls of men, women, and children, which he found in the ſubterraneous places, ſet apart for ſuch impious and deteſtable idolatry. (q) This provoked the Pagans to ſuch a degree, that a great tumult enſued, in which many Chriſtians were maſſacred; nor could it be ſuppreſſed, till all further ſearch after theſe abominable places was laid aſide.

(r) But as ſoon as they had heard of the death of that excellent Chriſtian, Artemius, general of the forces in Egypt, who was beheaded at Antioch, by order of Julian, for upbraiding him with his apoſtacy and horrid impieties: (s) Then the Heathens, having no dread of that general, who had formerly been ſo formidable to them, they reſolved to be revenged on George for all the publick and private injuries he had done them. (t) To which end, ſeizing on him, with Dracontius the treaſurer, and another officer of Conſtantius, they trod them under foot, dragged them through the ſtreets, beat them with clubs, and rending them in a thouſand pieces, they burnt their bodies, and threw the aſhes into the ſea. (u) The Chriſtians, who could have oppoſed this violence, ſaw it without concern, and, like the Pagans, were pleaſed with the horrid ſpectacle, he being equally hated by all parties, by reaſon of his unjuſt exactions. (v) Julian at firſt ſeemed to ſhow ſome reſentment at this proceeding; but as the Chriſtians had been great

(p) Ammi. lib. 22. (q) Ammi. (r) Theod. l. 3. c. 17. (s) Ammi. l. 22.
(t) Socr. l. 3. c. 2. & Sozom. l. 5. c. 7. (v) Ammi. l. 22. (x) Socrat. l. 3. c. 3.

A. D. 362. sufferers in this tumult, he contented himself with slightly reprimanding the Alexandrians by letter, in which he told them, that he pardoned them for the love he bore his uncle Julian, who had been formerly their governor, and out of respect to their god Serapis, to whom he owed himself indebted for the empire. (y) At that time Athanasius (without opposition) returned to his see at Alexandria, after an absence of six years; where he was received triumphantly by as great a concourse of people of all ranks as had been ever seen there, who followed him with loud acclamations, having torches and flambeaus, and all the other marks of publick joy, that are usually seen at the most solemn entries of the greatest princes.

In the mean time, Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, and Eusebius, Bishop of Verselles, whom Constantius had banished into the country of Thebais, after having often changed the place of their exile, finding themselves at liberty by Julian's edict, set themselves with all possible diligence to repair the losses the Church had sustained in the East, before they would return to their proper charges in the West. (z) To this end Eusebius went to Alexandria, to assist at a Council called by Athanasius, and Lucifer went by way of Antioch, to pacify the troubles that had disturbed that Church for some time. All things went well in the Council of Alexandria, where it was decreed, that such Bishops (who through weakness, or surprize, had communicated with the Arians, if they professed the Faith according to the Council of Nice) should be received into the bosom of the Church, and restored to their bishopricks: (a) But that they who had publickly defended the Arian heresy, should only be admitted to lay communion. This was approved by all the Western Church, who readily received the bishops, that declared they had been surprized into what they did, at the Council of Rimini, and deserted what they had done there. In this Council was asserted the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, which the Semi-Arians began to deny. At this time was condemned the formulary of the Church of Sardis, and Athanasius reconciled the Latins and Greeks about the word *Hypostasis*, the

(y) Hier. dial. adv. Lucif. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. in laud. Athan.
l. 1. c. 28. Athan. Epist. ad Antioch. Greg. Nazianz. in laud. Athan.
adv. Lucif. Ep. Lib. ad Ep. Ital. apud Hil. in frag. l. 1.

(z) Rufin.

(a) Hier.

latter taking it to signify Person, and the former, Substance. He shewed them that they said the same thing, in using the same word, to which they gave two very different senses; for the Greeks affirmed, that there were in God three *Hypostases*, that is, according to them, three Persons in one and the same Essence; the Latins said, there was but one *Hypostasis*, i. e. as they understood it, one Substance in three Persons, which is the same thing, the different parties only making a different use of the terms. (b) After this the Council writ to Liberius, Bishop of Rome, who confirmed their decrees, and Eusebius, Bishop of Verselles, carried a letter from the same Council to Lucifer, who laboured greatly to compose the differences in the Church of Antioch, where all things were in the utmost confusion.

The Christians in that great city had been for a long while divided into three parties, viz. the Arians, who had for their bishop Euzoïus, and such among the Catholics as recognized Melitius, on his renouncing Arianism, and having so strenuously maintained the doctrine of *Consubstantiality*, for which he was banished by Constantius. (c) The third was the Eustathian party, who were also Catholics, but would not consent that Melitius should preside over the Church of Antioch, because they looked on him as still inclining to the Arian heresy, and because he had been thrust into that see by the Arians, who, according to their custom, had translated him from the bishoprick of Sebasta in Armenia, to that of Berea, and from thence to the Patriarchate of Antioch. Lucifer, who had a full commission to appease those disorders, and reunite the two Catholick parties, perceiving that the Eustathians obstinately insisted that the election of Melitius was void, thought that if he should raise to the Episcopal Dignity a priest of known merit, one that had been always orthodox, he would without any difficulty be acknowledged by both parties. (d) Upon this, without further consideration, or consulting the party for Melitius, he ordained Paulinus bishop of Antioch, a man of illustrious merit, and consummate virtue, and who had been ordained priest by Eustathius himself. The Eustathians received him with open arms and great applause, and at the same time, that he might be put in

(b) Epist. ad Rufin. ex conc. Nicæn. 2. Act. 1.
(d) Rufin. l. 1. c. 27.

(c) Socr. lib. 2. cap. 24.

A. D. possession of his new dignity by sufficient authority, he sent two
 362. of his deacons, Maximus, and Calimerus, to the Council of Alexandria, to which in his name they subscribed; whereupon the Council approved of his election. But the partisans of Melitius, whether out of the affection they bore him, or resenting that a bishop should be chosen without their privity, or consent, and that the head of the Eustathian party should be the man, they would by no means receive Paulinus for their bishop, but attached themselves with more zeal than ever to Melitius, assembling separately under his authority, intreating him to come to them with all speed, which he did soon after. (e) So that instead of two bishops, that were before at Antioch, there were now three, viz. Euzoius, who had got possession of almost all the churches, Paulinus, to whom the Arians, out of respect to his sanctity and old age, left one church, and Melitius, who on his return put himself at the head of his party, making use of a church in the suburbs, Euzoius not allowing him one in the city. (f) So that Lucifer, instead of silencing the schism at Antioch, by this precipitate election, made it more obstinate and formidable than ever.

When Eusebius came to Antioch with letters from the Council, he was exceedingly surprized, not at Paulinus's being chosen to that see, having been apprized of that, being one of the Council that approved him, but to find the election so hastily and unreasonably made, as to occasion a disorder that admitted no remedy. However, to give no offence to Lucifer, for whom he had the highest friendship and respect, he dissembled his concern, and only told him at parting, that on his return he would use all possible means in the Council to appease those disorders: But could not so far smother the anguish of his mind, with which he was very deeply affected, but that Lucifer perceived it.

He was, it must be owned, a man of uncommon courage, and had acted gloriously in defence of the Faith against all the most strenuous efforts of the Arians, and Constantius, who upon all accounts treated him basely, and the resolution he had shown, was even more than his sacerdotal function required of him. But I believe, on this occasion, that we may be allowed to say, that in this

(e) Socr. l. 3. c. 7.
 Theod. l. 3. c. 5.

(f) Socr. *ibid.* Soz. l. 5. c. 12. Russ. l. 1. c. 30.

case he suffered himself to be too much influenced by the natural impetuosity of a hot, melancholy constitution. And as this inspired him with fortitude, constancy, and an unshaken steadiness, for the carrying on a good cause, so it rendered him obstinate and inflexible when engaged even in a bad one. Besides, the greatness of his soul, and the authority he had obtained, made him fond of his own sentiments, and think it reasonable that others should be guided by them too. In short, the great things he had done, and what he had suffered, for stoutly maintaining the Divinity of our Lord, had so far enflamed and added to the natural fire of his temper, that he could hardly endure any one that had less courage and zeal than himself. This was the fatal cause of his misery and deplorable fall, in which, after by his rashness he had increased the schism at Antioch, he by pride and loftiness became the author of a sect which was called after his name, Luciferians. (g) And so violent was his resentment when he found that Eusebius disapproved of what he had done, that he broke off all correspondence with him, and all others that received the penitent bishops into communion with them, as had been decreed in the Council of Alexandria, always rejecting the decree, altho' it had been signed in his name by his deacons, and received by the whole Church: In so much that he withdrew from her communion, but embraced no other error but this. On his return to Sardinia, he left some followers of his schism, where he died soon after, obstinately persisting in his error to the last, if we may believe the antients, without crediting those of his own island, who have since accounted him a saint. However that be, many of his disciples called Luciferians, have held opinions much more pernicious than ever he broached, and have had the boldness to affirm, that the Church, in admitting to communion, and reinstating in their sees the penitent bishops, was totally altered, that abounding with dishonourable persons, was like a river whose streams had run pure and clear, but now were filled with nothing but salt and muddy waters.

Here we may observe, to what a length pride and presumption may carry the ill-grounded severity of men, that dare condemn the usage and indulgence of the Church, whose separation is not

(g) Sev. lib. 2. Ambr. Orat. in tan. Fr. Hier. adv. Lucif. Aug. de ag. Christ. cap. 30. Russ. l. 1. c. 30. Hier. adv. Lucif.

M. D. only caused by ill conduct, and receiving and propagating heterodox tenets, but by the vanity of being distinguished by publicly renouncing her communion.

(*b*) In the mean time, Eusebius bishop of Verfelles went thro' the provinces of Thrace and Illyria with incredible zeal, restoring some bishops that had revolted, to the communion of the Church, confirming the weak and wavering, and every where instructing the people with admirable success. (*i*) In like manner St. Hilary in Gaul, reconciled such as had been surprized at the Council of Rimini, and repaired the damage the Church had sustained in several Councils, particularly that which was held at Paris, from whence he wrote an excellent synodical letter to the Eastern bishops in justification of the Nicene Faith, which was generally professed in Gaul, notwithstanding all the efforts that were used by Saturninus of Arles, and Paternus of Perigueux, in favour of Arianism. For this reason, and their scandalous and debauched lives, Eusebius excommunicated them, and deprived them of their bishopricks, restoring the Gallican Church to its primitive purity and splendor. (*k*) After which these two wonderful men came into Italy much about the same time, where they laboured together with the same success, establishing in the communion of the Church such as had thro' weakness separated from it, and putting every thing in order, in compliance with a letter written by Liberius Bishop of Rome to the Bishops of Italy. (*l*) Inasmuch that Arianism was almost entirely extinguished in all the Western provinces.

But the Arians, implacable enemies to Athanasius, could not bear to hear of the fame he had acquired by his success both in Egypt and Alexandria, not only in reducing hereticks to the true Faith, but converting many from Paganism to Christianity, among whom were many ladies of quality, whom he publicly baptized. (*m*) These his bitter enemies were so villainous as to irritate the Pagans against him, who sent their soothsayers, augurs, priests, and magicians, to complain of him to Julian, who was then endeavouring utterly to abolish the worship of the true God. Nor were they at great pains to succeed, for that Apostate soon granted

(*b*) Socr. l. 3. c. 7. (*i*) Sev. l. 2. Hil. l. 2. (*k*) Ruffin. l. 1. c. 30, 31.
 (*l*) Hil. frag. l. 1. (*m*) Ruff. l. 2. c. 34. Sozom. l. 5. c. 14. Justin Ep. 27.

them an edict, commanding Athanasius forthwith to quit Alexandria, and go into banishment, under pain of the severest punishment. And moreover, charged him with being guilty of the highest presumption in returning to his see by his own authority, adding, that the intent of the former edict was, that the banished bishops might be at liberty to return to their own country only, but not to the churches over which they had formerly presided. (n) And threatened the prefect of Egypt, to fine him a very great sum, payable to his troop of horse-guards, if he did not drive that enemy to the gods, Athanasius, out of Egypt, by the first of December following. (o) And laughed at the senate and people of Alexandria, on their demanding the re-establishment of their Patriarch. And to free himself from all further importunity, gave private orders for killing him; which was what the Arians had long ardently longed for, and frequently endeavoured to accomplish. Athanasius having notice of this, was compelled by his friends and relations to go on board a bark in the Nile, and retire to Thebais. Then seeing all about him weep bitterly at parting from him, he comforted them by prophetically assuring them, that after this storm, which would soon pass over, they should enjoy a calm. He had not long been gone from the shore, before one followed him with all possible speed, to advertise him that the ruffians from Julian were come to dispatch him, and that hearing of his flight, were in pursuit of him, to try, if possible, to overtake him. Athanasius hearing this, considered with himself a little what to do, and then with a wonderful presence of mind, instantly gave orders for tacking about and returning to Alexandria, where he soon arrived. But in his return thither, he meets his pursuers, who enquired of him how far Athanasius was before them; who answered coldly, not far from them. Then leaving them plying their oars with all their might to catch him, he returned to Alexandria, where he lay concealed till the death of Julian, which happened not long after, as he had foretold. Nor will it be unentertaining to relate the circumstances of his death, to discover the difference of the event of the prophecy of Athanasius, who was persecuted by Julian, and of the predictions of the

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(n) Jul. Ep. 6. (o) Theod. l. 3. c. 4. Ruff. l. 1. c. 34. Soz. l. 3. c. 12.

sooth-

A. D. 362. soothsayers, augurs, philosophers, magicians, and oracles of the demons, which deceived that wretched prince.

(p) He had spent the winter at Antioch, in the day-time making preparations for war, in which he was engaged against the Persians, and most part of the night in writing a book against the Christian Religion, which was his last performance, whereof there now remains only some few fragments, which are solidly refuted by Cyril of Alexandria, and are to be seen in that work. (q) He consulted the oracles of Asia and Greece, particularly those at Delphos, Delos, and Dodona, who all promised him victory. The philosophers with whom his court abounded, and among them Maximus and Priscus, two magicians, giving him the same assurances, persuading him that he had by transmigration the soul of Alexander the great, and consequently was entitled to his fortune, *viz.* the conquest of Persia. (r) The hecatombs he sacrificed, and what is horrible to relate, the humane sacrifices he offered, that the entrails might be viewed to discover the event of the war, (as his soothsayers flattered him) all prognosticated his success. (s) This so far puffed him up, that nothing doubting of the conquest of Persia, he haughtily dismissed the ambassadors, that came to treat with him of peace, and brought very advantageous proposals with them, and declared that when he had finished the Persian war, which was the least of the two he had undertaken, he would fall on the Christians, which was of the greatest import, because he had solemnly promised to make a sacrifice to his gods of the Christian Religion. (t) He had offered him a good number of auxiliary troops from all parts by his allies, but so confident was he of victory, that he refused them all, except some which he ordered Arsaces king of Armenia to send him. This was only to show his pride and arrogance: For that Prince being a Christian, if he had not sent the number of troops he demanded, and at the time he required them, he intended to have fallen upon him at his return, and give proof to the world, that the God he worshipped was not able to deliver him out of his hands. (u) After this he marches out of Antioch on the fifteenth of March,

(p) Liban. Sophism. apud Socr. l. 3. c. 19. (q) Hier. Ep. 84. Theod. l. 3. c. 18.
 (r) Soc. l. 3. c. 18. (s) Hier. in Chron. Chrys. or. adv. Gent. Greg. orat. 2. in Jul.
 (t) Soz. l. 6. c. 1. (u) Amm. l. 233.

very roughly answering the acclamations of his people who attended him in crowds, and who requested from him a gentler treatment for the time to come: For at his departure he told them he would come no more to Antioch, being offended at their insolent railleries, but on his return would go to Tarsus, which he had chosen for the place of his residence. (x) This was a truer prediction than what was prophesied by the oracles he consulted, for after his death his body was carried thither to be interred.

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(y) From Antioch he marched afterwards to join his army that was at Hierapolis, and having passed over the Euphrates on a bridge of boats, he entered into Mesopotamia; he went directly to Carræ, having had all the way (as he writ word to Libanius) fresh assurances of success, from the sacrifices he daily offered to his gods, and by the presages, which were according to the heathen superstition wrested and misapplied by his philosophers and magicians, who were his oracles, to favour and encourage his designs. He offered near that city, in a cave, a most abominable sacrifice of a woman, to find, according to his superstition, the presages of victory: The truth of this is evident, for after his death, upon opening the cave, which he had caused to be shut up, that unhappy person was found hanging by her hair, with her arms extended, and her body cut open.

After taking these precautions, and getting encouragement by such execrable means of discovering the event, he sent his kinsman Procopius to Ninbis with thirty thousand men, to guard the passes on the side of the Tigris, to hinder the Persians from giving him any diversion by making an inroad into the Roman territories. (z) And himself at the head of about sixty thousand men, being the rest of the army, went into Assyria, coasting along the Euphrates, upon which he had above a thousand vessels to transport his ammunition and engines of war, besides fifty men of war, and other great boats to build bridges. (a) With this force he began the war very successfully, and acquired abundance of honour. He took all the castles and towns near the Euphrates, some by treaty, and some by force. He got the better of the Persians in every skirmish: And made himself master of all the country as

(x) Zoz. l. 3. Amm. ib.

(y) Jul. Ep. 23. Amm. l. 23.

(z) Zozim.

(a) Zoz. l. 3. Amm. l. 24.

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362. great rivers in view of the enemy, and having cleared it, ordered his fleet to cross the Tigris and join his army, which was effected in spite of any opposition could be made by the Persian forces, commanded by the two sons of king Sapor. He then came to an engagement near Ctesiphon, put the enemy to the rout, and in the pursuit his men had almost entered the city with the Persians that fled.

Thus far Athanasius's prophecy seems to be false, and Julian's oracles to have spoke truth. But now his destiny approaches, and we shall see the prophecy of the Saint verified. (b) For depending on the truth of the oracles by the success that attended his first exploits, and not doubting of the conquest of Persia, he was guilty of an unaccountable piece of folly and rashness; for, contrary to the advice of all his officers, he burnt his fleet, as useless and insignificant. (c) After which he withdrew from the river, left Ctesiphon, marched into the country, drawing towards Media, as if he had been sure, without opposition, of entering Ecbatana in triumph. Moreover, not reflecting on the misconduct of Crassus, Carus, and Valerian, examples that might have wrought on the most resolute men, he intrusted himself and his whole army, which raged with indignation against him, to the discretion of one fugitive Persian, who betrayed him, and instead of conducting him thro' a country stored with all necessaries for his army, as he promised him he would, he led him into wilds and deserts, where that little the country produced for the sustenance of man and beast, had been burnt up, and laid waste by the Persians; inso-much that he soon found himself reduced to the last extremity, without bread, forrage, or water, and in no condition either to retreat or advance.

Then condemning himself for his rashness, and ill-concerted measures, he would have marched to the left to regain the Tigris, and so enter into the Roman territories. But the execution of this design was prevented by the Persians, who marched in his flank, and continually harrassed him by slight skirmishes, in which he had always the advantage, showing much gallantry in person, and

(b) Amm. 1. 25. Zozim. 1. 3.
 Secr. 1. 3. c. 18.

(c) Greg. Naz. in Jul. Chryf. adv. gent.

by his example animating his troops. Particularly, on the twenty-second of June, when the Persians attacking him in the open country with all their forces and a great number of elephants, not questioning but they must gain the victory against an army half famished, were repulsed with a very great slaughter. After three days rest, which he was constrained to give his army, being reduced to the necessity of eating their own horses, having drawn it up in order of battle, he marched in the front, not terrified by the ill omens he had had, and the predictions of his diviners, whom he now began to neglect. Then an account was brought him that the Persians which had all that day been on the rising ground, were marched down to fall on his re-re-guard: When, without staying to take his breastplate, he ran with his sword in his hand to give orders against the enemy, who at the same time fell on his advanced-guard, and the moment after he was told that the Persians, supported on all sides by their elephants, had fallen on his men in their flank; he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and fell upon them behind with so much fury and success, that the legions resumed their courage, and repulsed them on their side, putting into great disorder both their cavalry and elephants, and followed the enemy so briskly, that they put them to flight. 'Twas then, that lifting up his arm towards his soldiers, he cried out with a loud voice, *The day is our own*, when he found himself suddenly smote with a javelin, which slightly touching his right arm, pierced thro' his side, and reached his liver. As he endeavoured to draw it out he cut his fingers, and fell from his horse; being taken up by some about him, he was carried to his tent. The battle, however, continued till night, to the disadvantage of the Persians, who, besides a great number of their soldiers, lost the field of battle, fifty of their nobility, and Mereres himself, General of the army.

In the mean time Julian, as soon as his wound was dressed, was for returning to the battle, who finding himself much weakened by loss of blood, yet could scarce be detained from the combat; asked the name of the place where he was, and being told, Phrygia, he then concluded he must die, because he had been informed by one of his magicians, which he continually consulted, that he should die in Phrygia, and by an iron weapon. He left to his army to chuse a successor, tho' he had told his kinsman Procopius,

A. D. 362. whom he left with an army at Nisibis, that should he hear of his death in this war, he should assume the purple. After which, being a great talker, he discoursed a long while with Maximus and Priscus on several points of philosophy, when his wound bleeding afresh, he called for some water, which he drank, and the moment after died like a true Pagan philosopher, in the one and thirtieth year of his age, and the second of his reign (*d*).

It was never certainly known by what hand he was wounded; I forbear to mention those visionary fables of the blow's being sent from Heaven, and given by Mercurius and Anthimus the martyrs, since the Fathers of his time, and who had no inclination to spare him, have not so much as mentioned it; nor any thing of his taking the blood that flowed from his wound, and throwing it against Heaven and Jesus Christ, blasphemously saying, *Thou hast conquered, O Galilean.*

It is indeed matter of surprize, that the Fathers of that age should be wholly ignorant of a thing that made so much noise in the world, and was so much talked of in after-ages. However, I do not absolutely reject the story, but leave it to the reader's discretion to believe, or disbelieve it, as he pleases. I shall only say this, that 'tis highly probable, that in the heat and tumult of the battle, he was wounded by one of his own soldiers, either by accident in throwing his javelin against the enemy, or designedly thro' indignation and rage, for having reduced so many brave men to the utmost extremity, and brought them into manifest danger of being all cut off. (*e*) For it is certain, the Persians did reproach the Romans with having assassinated their Emperor, which they learnt from a deserter that had been wounded in the battle. This may be depended on, that as Athanasius, being divinely inspired, had foretold his death, it pleased God that he should hear of the death of that wretched prince on the very day he was slain, to let him see that his prediction was not vain. For Dydimus, a very good man, and one of Athanasius's presbyters, praying day and night, as his custom was, that God would deliver the Church from the tyranny of that Apostate; while he was at his devotions, falling asleep, he beheld in a dream some horsemen galloping thro' the air, and saying to one another, Let Dydimus know that

(*d*) Damasc. de imm. or. 1. Soz. l. 6. c. 2. Nic. l. 10. c. 35.

(*e*) Ammi.

Julian is slain, and let him make a report of it to Athanasius. *A. D.*
(f) This he accordingly did, being one of them that were intrusted with the knowledge of the place of his retreat, and the event proved that he died that very hour. 362.

It cannot be denied but that this Prince was master of many excellent qualifications; he had as much wit as it was possible to have, as may be seen in his works; he was learned and eloquent, had abundance of vivacity, with a delicate and witty kind of pleasantry in conversation; add to this, that he was brave, intrepid, and victorious in several battles; liberal, chaste, temperate, indefatigable, administering justice himself, tender of his people, not exacting from them, enduring the fatigues and hardships in war, with the meanest of his soldiers, and in time of peace never indulging himself in the voluptuousness and pleasures of the court. Tho' it must be owned, that he had many very great faults, which justly obscured the glory of his merit. (g) For not to mention his infamous Apostacy, his quitting the Christian Religion, which he had professed for twenty years, and his abominable hypocrisy, by which he profaned the sacredness of our holy mysteries for above ten years together, by his hidden idolatry. Nay, some who for the sake of Paganism have extolled him as an hero, cannot wholly stifle it, however they express it in the softest terms in their writings, that he abounded with an inexhaustible fund of levity, which was discoverable in his person, by his irregular and fantastical gait, which made him do many things not only unbecoming the character of a Prince, but even of a man of common gravity; so that I am apt to think, that there was in him a spice of folly, mixt with abundance of impiety.

He was vain, ambitious, very greedy of applause, not permitting his predecessors to be extolled, whose merit he always decried, and for the most inconsiderable actions requiring as much incense of praise to be given him, as he offered to his idols. It is confessed, that he had as much learning as was possible for so great a Prince to attain to. (b) For he was a rhetorician, and a sophist, even to pedantry, being perpetually surrounded by pedants in the habit of philosophers, but especially swayed by Libanius and

(f) Pallad. in Laus. Sozom. l. 6, c. 2. (g) Amm. l. 25. (b) Eunap. via Phil. Jul. in Epist.

A. D. 362. Maximus, who first corrupted him, and were afterwards put to death by Valens, for exercising the magick art; (i) and so very superstitious was he, that the Gentiles themselves own, that he had near exhausted the country of sheep and oxen for hecatombs to be used at his sacrifices; he was impetuous, imprudent, and rash to the last degree, incapable of secrecy, and affecting popularity after a very scandalous and base manner; but above all, so fond of appearing like a philosopher, that he let his beard grow to a great length, being thick and pointed towards the bottom, (k) which, with the lowness of his stature, the largeness of his mouth, and the length of his nose, his goggle eyes, and very bad features together, must make him appear very ridiculous, as he himself would own to every body, but especially to those who remembered the majesty of Constantine, the gravity of Constantius, and the magnificence and splendor of both their courts.

(l) But that which ought to render his memory execrable, as well to Pagans as Christians, is the humane victims which he in secret offered to his gods among his philosophers, soothsayers, and magicians, opening the entrails of boys, girls, men, and women, to invoke departed souls, and demons, for the discovery of future events. (m) Nor can it be said that these are mere calumnies raised by the Christians, to make his name odious; for after his death there were found in Antioch chests, cabinets, cells, and wells full of the sad remains of those unhappy victims, which discovered his execrable impiety, and brought on him the curses of the whole world. Thus died that Apostate Emperor in disgrace, being overcome by our blessed Lord, whom he strove to rob of his Divinity, by re-establishing idolatry; while the Arians did the same to gain footing for their heresy. In giving the character of this Prince, I have neither concealed his virtues, nor his faults, for the benefit of those who, offended at the extraordinary invectives raised against him, fall into the other extreme, by the extravagant encomiums which are given him.

As the Roman army was now reduced to the last extremity, being surrounded with enemies, in a country desert and unknown, without ammunition or provision, it could not long be without a Chief. For which reason the officers at break of day assembled to

(i) Ammian. (k) In Misopog. (l) Greg. Naz. orat. 1. Chrysost. orat. cont. gent. (m) Theod. l. 3. c. 22.

elect an Emperor. (n) For the general officers, as well they who had served formerly under Constantius, as those whom Julian brought with him from Gaul, having proposed each their friend, but not agreeing about the choice, the army to a man, save some few Pagans, with a general voice cried out for Jovian to be elected, tho' he was a very zealous Christian; upon which, by the common consent of all the commanders, he was proclaimed Emperor throughout the camp.

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He was a man of great quality, son of Count Vetranius of Singidon in Pannonia, and steward of the household to the Emperor, (o) He was about 33 years old, very well made, had a fine person, a good mien, and a majestic stature; was a man of undaunted courage, which he shewed upon all occasions, but particularly in this war, where Jovian had the command of a legion. Julian having had nothing more at heart than to draw him over from Christianity to Heathenism, one day suddenly offered him his choice, either to quit the army, or renounce Christianity. (p) Upon which this great man, without a moment's deliberation, delivered his sword into the emperor's hand; but he, unwilling to be without so useful a soldier in the war he was going to undertake against the Persians, bid him execute his usual command, and never more talked to him of changing his religion. Thus had he the freedom of exercising his own religion, publicly detesting the Pagan idolatry, and always making open profession of Christianity; and altho' by the general consent of the army he was chosen to succeed Julian, what is much to be admired in him, when they offered him the Purple, and were conducting him to the Tribunal which had been suddenly prepared for him, he declared he was a Christian, and would refuse the Empire, if he must reign over Pagans. The soldiers then with one voice cried out, they were Christians, as well the Veterans that had served under Constantine, as they that had fought under Constantius, and even Julian's soldiers themselves, whose reign being very short, had not his impiety thoroughly rooted in their hearts. Upon which he accepted the Empire, put himself at the head of his army, and continued their march towards the Tigris.

(n) Ammian lib. 25.

(o) Theod. 1. 4. c. 1.

(p) Socr. l. 4. c. 1.

A.D. 362. (q) In the mean while, the Persians taking the advantage of Julian's rashness, only put themselves in the way of the Roman army, securing the passes without ever coming to a battle. So that being reduced to these wretched circumstances, even the valour and conduct of Jovian could not have rescued them either from perishing by famine, or surrendering to the enemy, if at this time Sapor had not come to his army: To which he came to reap the fruit of a victory obtained without the hazard of a battle. But suddenly changing his design, he sent ambassadors to Jovian, to treat of a peace, whether as being apprehensive of what might be the event of the last effort of such gallant troops made desperate, or fearing that the Roman army in Mesopotamia might come to their relief; or out of policy, supposing what was highly probable, that in making peace in so favourable a conjuncture, he should gain more by the advantageous terms he might now obtain, than he could by the destruction of the whole Roman army. But whatever moved him to it, he offered conditions of peace, which were accepted by Arintheus and Salust the pretor, Jovian's deputies, but they were very dishonourable, the articles obliging him to surrender Nisibis and Sangara, which were the two barriers of the Empire on this side, and five provinces which Sapor claimed on the other side the Tigris. But it was absolutely necessary to accept of these conditions, to extricate the army from the difficulties in which the rashness and folly of Julian had involved them. Thus a peace being concluded, and a truce agreed on for thirty years, Sapor, pursuant to the treaty, which was signed by both parties, gave Jovian a free passage, and provisions for his army, with which he marched to Antioch, from whence he ordered the body of his predecessor to be carried to Tarsus.

(r) At his arrival at Antioch, the first thing Jovian did, was to abolish all Julian's acts against the Christians by new edicts, and recalling those that had been banished, beginning with Athanasius, from whom, to guard himself sufficiently against all erroneous doctrines, he demanded a certain rule of the true Faith. The Patriarch to this end having got together all the Bishops he could,

(q) Amm. l. 25. Zoz. l. 3. Greg. Naz. orat. 2. All. in Jul. Chrysost. orat. contra gent. Ruffin. l. 2. c. 1. (r) Socr. l. 3. c. 27. Soz. l. 6. c. 3. Greg. Naz. or. in laud. Athan. Ap. Athan. & Theod. l. 4. c. 6.

belonging to his province, sent the Emperor a formulary of Faith, drawn up agreeable to that of the Council of Nice, beseeching him to observe it inviolably, without the least alteration, as the true Catholick Faith, professed by all the Churches of Italy, Spain, France, and England, Macedonia, all Greece, and Africk, Dacia, Mysia, and Sardinia, Cyprus, Candia, and Egypt, Lybia, Pamphilia, and Isauria, Lycia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and all over the East; except some few that were infected with the heresy of Arius, whose number being small, how obstinate soever they were, they could be no prejudice to the Faith professed over the whole earth. For he assured the Emperor, that he had letters and confessions of Faith from all the Churches he had named, and many more far remote from those parts. (1) And besides writing this excellent epistle in the name of the Synod, he went in person to Antioch, Jovian greatly desiring to see him, to confer with that Prince, on matters of Faith.

This epistle and conference so confirmed him in the orthodox Faith, which he had always professed, that he continued firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the artifices of the Arian bishops, who endeavoured to pervert him; namely, Basil of Ancyra, and his Semi-Arians, and the Macedonians, who presented an address to him, in which they demanded that the bishopricks of the Aca- cians might be given them, seeing they maintained a perfect substantial similitude of the Word with the Father, which the rest blasphemously denied. But Jovian having respect both to his rule of Faith, and likewise to the present posture of his affairs, which would not permit him to proceed violently, without giving a particular answer to their address, signified to them, that the three following rules should be his guide in all religious matters. (1) The first was, that he would inviolably preserve the Faith, as professed in the Nicene Creed, and would, as long as he lived, prefer it to all other confessions whatsoever. The second, that he had a great aversion to all those that loved contention, and would always encourage such as sought to preserve the peace of the Church. The third was, that he would offer violence to no man on the account of his Faith, but they that contributed to the peace and unity of the Church, should be distinguished by particular marks of his fa-

(1) Epiph. har. 68. Sozom. l. 6. c. 5.

(1) Socr. l. 3. c. 20, 21.

A. D. 363. your. (u) And as for Euzoius and Lucius, the last of whom had been sent by the Arians from Alexandria, and who was the head of that party since the tragical death of George the Arian, because they came to renew their calumnies against Athanasius, and importune him on that head, he treated them very roughly, especially a priest of Alexandria, and the eunuchs of the palace, who held a private correspondence with Euzoius, threatening to punish them severely if they ever dared to solicit him any more on that subject.

(x) This procedure of the Emperor, and the answers he gave these Arians, satisfied the world that the Nicene Faith would prevail at court, and the Arians themselves, who were the bitterest against it, made openly a profession of it. For when Melitius, who was now recognized bishop of Antioch by most of the Catholics, called a Synod, in which the Nicene Creed was solemnly received, Acacius himself, and Maris of Calcedon, who assisted in it, without any difficulty subscribed to it, as containing a declaration of the true Faith, perhaps out of a mere politick motive, as the manner of the Arians was, which the philosopher Themistius justly reproached them with, some time after, in the oration which he spoke before the Emperor when consul, who plainly told them, that it was not God whom they worshipped, but the Imperial Purple; and that they, like the Euripus, could be on this side to day, and to morrow on the contrary; and that they regulated their Faith by that of their Prince's. He might have said the same thing of his brother philosophers, (y) for when the idol temples were shut up, and the philosophers, seducers of Julian, and accomplices of his abominations, were contemned and hated, they, to avoid discovery, quitted the philosophick robe, and habited themselves like other men.

(z) In the mean time the schism at Antioch, which began in Julian's reign, by the ill conduct of Lucifer, between Melitius and Paulinus, instead of being extinguished, was increased by a third party, formed by Peter Vitalis. This man was orthodox as to the doctrine of the *Consubstantiality*, but out of envy and despite that Flavian was on all occasions preferred before him, he

(u) Soz. l. 6. c. 4. (x) Socr. l. 3. c. 21. Soz. l. 6. c. 4. (y) Theod. l. 3. c. 22.
(z) Socr. l. 3. c. 26. Soz. l. 6. c. 27.

BOOK V. *The History of ARIANISM.*

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went over to the Apollinarians, who chose him for their bishop. *A. D.* 363. And as he had acquired a great reputation by the seeming sanctity of his life, he encreased the number of his followers with many persons that left Paulinus, whom he accused of Sabellianism. (a) Paulinus cleared himself from this calumny by giving Athanasius a profession of his Faith, with which he was fully satisfied, and admitted him to communion. (b) But finding all endeavours to reunite the parties would be fruitless, they being so exasperated one against another, he returned to Alexandria, having obtained every thing he thought necessary of Jovian, for the better government of his church.

After this, the Emperor having given directions for the management of his affairs in the West, as he had before done in the East, during his stay at Antioch, he set out for Constantinople in the month of December, regulating all along in his way thither the affairs of Asia. He took on him the Consulship at Ancyra, on the first day of the year, taking for his colleague his son Varronian, an infant; but the pomp of that festival was soon followed by his funeral. (c) For when he came to Dadaftana, which divides Galatia from Bithynia, where he heard Themistius's panegyrical oration, pronounced on the occasion of his entering on his Consulship, he was one morning found dead in his bed, on the seventeenth day of February, having been stifled in the night by the fumes of charcole, which were left burning in his chamber to dry the walls, that had been newly plaistered. This is an accident that has often happened, for without searching further for examples, his predecessor Julian, in one of his orations, says, he thought that he should have died at Paris one winter, which was very severe, the Seine being frozen over, and he resolving to have no fire made in his chamber, altho' the rigour of the season required it, ordered charcole to be brought in its stead, which had like to have cost him his life, had he not been timely relieved, by his attendants carrying him out when half choaked. Here we may observe, what difference there is between the council of God, and the reasonings of man, who too frequently and unjustly passes his judgment of God's will by events. For he that was an Apostate already in his heart,

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(a) Soz. l. 6. c. 5. (b) Soz. *ibid.* (c) Amm. l. 25. Soer. l. 3. c. 22. Amm. l. 16. Hier. *Epist.* ad Ital. Soer. l. 3. c. 22. Soz. l. 6. c. 6.

A. D. 364. and had done unspeakable mischief to the Christian cause, escaped, and the Prince, who had with so much zeal re-established God's holy Religion, and under whose government, in all appearance, it must have flourished and increased, perished in the like danger, before any one could come to his relief. We should therefore admire and adore, with the profoundest humility, the decrees of God's providence, not presumptuously endeavouring to penetrate into the reasons of them, nor interpret them as they may appear to us, or as it often happens, with passion or prejudice.

(*d*) After the death of Jovian, the army advanced as far as Nice, where the principal commanders assembled together about the election of an Emperor; and after nominating two or three, which were all disapproved of, Salustius named Valentinian, who was chosen by the consent of all the army; whereupon couriers were dispatched to Ancyra, to acquaint him with his promotion to the Imperial dignity, where he had been left by Jovian with some troops under his command. (*e*) He was a man of about forty-three years of age, ennobled by his own merit, and that of his father Gratian, who obtained his nobility by his virtue, and altho' he was of obscure and mean parentage, being born in a little village in Pannonia. But he was endowed with such excellent qualifications both of body and mind, (but particularly remarkable for his courage and conduct) that he passed thro' all the posts in the army, from that of a common soldier, even to being honoured with the chief command, having been general of the Roman army both in Africa and England. But being disgraced, and his goods confiscated by Constantius, for having sumptuously entertained Magnentius at his house: (*f*) It happened that Valentinian, like his father, procured his advancement by his merit, rising gradually, with so great applause among the soldiery, that every one acknowledged, that he always deserved more than was or could be bestowed on him. (*g*) But what rendered him the most illustrious, and worthy of the Empire, was the glorious qualification of having been a Confessor for the name of CHRIST. For being tribune of the Emperor's life-guard, he marched one day before Julian, who went to the temple of Fortune, and when one of the priests who was

(*d*) Amm. lib. 26.

(*e*) Amm. *ibid.*

(*f*) Soer. l. 4. c. 1.

(*g*) Theod. l. 3. c. 5.

sacrificing, had purposely let fall on him some drops of water that were consecrated to the idol, with which he pretended to expiate the sins of the people then present, the generous Valentinian gave him a box of the ear, in the Emperor's presence. (b) And after he had shook off that profane water, which fell on his left hand, he cut off a good part of his mantle, that had been polluted by it. Julian could not bear this insult, but burning with rage and indignation, in spite of all his philosophy, drove him from the court, and banished him into Mitilene in Armenia, together with his brother Valens, who belonged to the Emperor's guards, who rather chose to quit his post, and cut himself off from the expectation of making his fortune, than renounce his Faith. This glorious confession of the two brothers was afterwards rewarded with the Empire itself. For Valentinian, who knew both how to command and obey, upon his arrival at Constantinople, associated his brother with him in the Empire, who was at that time about thirty-five years old, leaving him the government of the East, and taking to himself that of the West, whither he went the year following.

(i) In the mean time, the Macedonian and Semi-Arian bishops, who had been much discountenanced by Jovian, and who sought by all means to ruin Eudoxius and the Arians, whose violence they had experienced and dreaded, sent deputies to Valentinian, when he was on his way thro' Thrace with his brother, who accompanied him as far as Sirmium. Their commission was to intreat the Emperor to think favourably of them for their endeavours to re-establish the purity of the Faith, in opposition to those errors that had corrupted it. To whom Valentinian answered, that being only a layman, and not a competent judge, he would not concern himself in Ecclesiastical matters; but told them, they might meet when they pleased, to consider of these things among themselves. Doubtless the Emperor had a right to appoint both the time and place of their meeting, because no Council can be held without the authority of the Prince. But he thought it prudent and necessary at that time to grant them liberty of conscience, and give no man disturbance for the sake of the religion he professed, altho' he constantly adhered to the Catholick cause, and adjudged it better to draw people over by fair means, than compel them to

(b) Soz. l. 6. c. 6.

(i) Soz. l. 6. c. 7.

A.D. 365. come into it by violence and force. (k) The Bishops having obtained the commission they desired, and Valens, who was then a Catholick, confirming the grant to them soon after, on his return to Constantinople, they assembled at Lamfacus, a town situate on the Hellespont, where they disannulled all the acts of the pretended Council of Constantinople, held under Eudoxius, whom, together with his colleague Acacius, they declared guilty of impiety. They abolished likewise the formulary of the false Council of Rimini, which had been received at Constantinople. They approved and established that of Seleucia, and the first Council of Antioch: (l) And as that Council was full of abettors of the Macedonian heresy, they added the most horrid blasphemies against the Holy Ghost, more openly denying his Divinity than any one had ever done before, and used their utmost endeavours to have the same approved of by the other bishops of their party, who were assembled in divers places.

But what makes this Council more infamous than any other is, the base and scandalous means, and the gross imposition made use of to surprize the Bishop of Rome into their measures. For in order to obtain communion with Liberius, and all the Western Church, they sent deputies to him, the chief of whom was Eustathius of Sebasta in Armenia, a man of no honour, nor faith, who could change parties as often as it suited with the times, and his interest, and had often been deposed by both parties. They commissioned him to give the Bishop of Rome all the assurances he required, in order to persuade him that they were of the same Faith with him. Eustathius, who was a complete villain, thoroughly discharged his commission, and presenting his letters from the Synod to Liberius, assured him that they were of the same Faith with the Roman Church. But Liberius would not accept of the letters, but told him, that they having so often declared for the Arians in opposition to the doctrine of the Council of Nice, he could not admit them to communion. The deputies replied, that once indeed they had been deeply engaged in an error, but now being convinced of the truth, they had embraced it: And that confessing, as they did, against the Arians that the Son of God was in all things like unto the Father, they thereby designed to

(k) Socr. l. 4. c. 2.

(l) Socr. l. 4. c. 4. Bas. Ep. 82.

maintain the doctrine of the *Consubstantiality* conformably to the Nicene Creed. Liberius, not satisfied with these protestations, demanded of them to give him in writing a confession of their Faith, in which the Nicene Creed was rehearsed with the word *Consubstantial*. This they did without any hesitation, and made their confession more extensive than he required, and signed it as well in their own name, as in that of the Synod of Lampſacus, anathematizing all the contrary errors, particularly that which was supported in the false Council of Rimini. After this the Bishop of Rome had pretty good reason to believe that they were returned to the true Faith, and should it prove otherwise, he had in his hand proof of their dissimulation, which would justify his conduct to the Church, if they should be so hardy as to deny what they had done. He therefore gave them letters of peace, in which he expresses his joy for the happy re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches, who had, with one consent, condemned the formulary of the Council of Rimini, which the Bishops had been drawn into by force or surprize. (n) He wrote every where also to the same purpose; and the deputies entrusted with these letters, and those of the bishops of Sicily, and the Synod of Illyria, together with one from the Emperor Valens, who had remitted to him at Constantino-ple the decrees of this Synod, and that of Lamſacus, went to Tyana in Cappadocia, where the orthodox Bishops were assembled. There they presented them the letters from Liberius, and their own profession of Faith, which were read. (o) Then copies of these letters, and the letters of the Western bishops were sent to all those of the East, and it was likewise signified to them, that their number far surpassed that of the bishops of Rimini, and desired them all to assemble on a certain day at Tarsus in Cilicia, where the Western bishops were also to be present to sign the same thing, and make the re-union general. Upon this Eustathius of Sebasta, and all the other deposed bishops were restored to their dignities.

Here you plainly see the design of these wicked men, which was merely to be revenged of Eudoxius, without altering their sentiments in point of Faith. For as they had told the Bishop of Rome that by the term *alike in Substance*, they understood the very same thing which was meant by the word *Consubstantial*, so when

(n) Theod. l. 4. c. 6. Sozom. l. 6. c. 12.

(o) Socr. l. 4. c. 12.

A. D. 365. occasion should offer, they had it in reserve to say that by the term *Consubstantial*, to which they subscribed, they meant nothing more than what was expressed in the words *alike in Substance*. (p) This gave them room still to support Arianism, as they ever afterwards did, and after their admision into the Church could be less guarded against. Hence it is manifest, that the greatest misfortune that can happen to the Church, is not her having sons that revolt from her, and oppose her doctrines with heretical notions, and are for that reason excommunicated from her; but her having deceitful members, that under the specious appearance of a feigned submission, lie in her bosom on purpose to rend her bowels.

In the mean time Eudoxius, who was so vigorously attacked by those at Lampascus, was not backward on his part, according to the genius of the Arians, to make a powerful party at court, where he had already gained over the Empress Dominica, and who was very much disposed to favour both himself and his sentiments. But he was forced to dissemble, and defer the revenge which he meditated, waiting for the issue of the civil war which Valens had then upon his hands. For he having passed into Asia, in order to go to Antioch, lest any attempts should be made on that side by the Persians; Procopius, Julian's kinsman, after having entered into a league with some of the officers of the army, on a sudden appeared at Constantinople, on the twenty-eighth of September, attended by a very small number, who proclaimed him Emperor. The meaner sort presently joined him, and a little after having gained over to his party the soldiers that were in Thrace, he made an alliance with the Goths, who promised to bring him assistance. Thus strengthened he takes the field, and beats some of the Emperor's forces, and made himself master of Bithynia, and got so formidable a party, that Valens, hearing these sad tidings in Cappadocia, despairing of his safety, was about to surrender up the Empire to his rival. 366. (q) But his friends encouraging him, he faced about, and marched against him into Phrygia, where having got together what forces he could, during the winter, and had some slight skirmishes in the beginning of the campaign, when the two armies were in sight of one another, Arbition, one

(p) Syn. Illyr. apud Theod. l. 4. c. 6. Bas. ep. 87. Epiph. har. 75. lib. 26. Hier. Chron. Idat.

(q) Amm.

of the oldest officers of the Empire, and of Consular dignity, spake so loud, and with so much authority, to the soldiers of Procopius, that they came all over to Valens. The usurper seeing himself abandoned, endeavoured to save himself in a wood, but was the next morning taken thence by two of his own men, and delivered up to Valens, who caused his head to be forthwith cut off, and sent it to Valentinian, who received it at Paris at the same time that Jovinus, his general of the horse, entered the city in triumph, after a glorious victory obtained over the Germans. After this Marcellus, a kinsman of Procopius, presumed to set up for Emperor, hoping to gain to his party the Goths who came to the aid of his cousin; but being prevented, and seized by the Emperor's soldiers, they put him to the rack, and so ended his wretched life.

A.D.
366.

The happy end of this war was the beginning of another, very prejudicial to the cause of religion, by the consequences that attended it throughout the world, and Valens changing his sentiments of religion; all which was occasioned by this. (r) For returning to Constantinople, and resolving to demand satisfaction of the Goths, he was willing to receive baptism before he began the war: Then suffering himself to be so far misled by his wife, whom Eudoxius had made an Arian, he put himself entirely under his conduct, and was baptised by him. This wicked man, who had a great deal of cunning and hypocrisy, seconded by the artifices of the Empress, who was devoted to his party, knew so well how to influence this Prince, and to govern his affections, that he instilled into him the venom of pure Arianism to such a degree, that on administering baptism to him, he bound him by a solemn oath to persevere in that belief, and to establish it to the utmost of his power throughout the whole Empire, and to expel the Bishops from their sees that should offer to oppose it: (s) Inasmuch that as Constantia was the protectress of the Arians under Constantine the great, and Eusebia under Constantius, so this Empress was also their protectress in the court of Valens. For she perverted his spirit, filling him with hatred against the true Faith, made him in love with heresy and cruelty, for maintaining of the one, and

(r) Theod. l. 4. c. 11.
Hier. in Chron.

(s) Socr. l. 4. c. 3. Soz. l. 6. c. 7. O. of. l. 7. c. 32.

A. D. 366. abolishing of the other, as if the devil had no other way permitted him to seduce people to error, but by the means of a woman, nor was Adam to be misled but by an Eve. However, Valens did not begin openly to persecute the Catholics, fearing to disoblige his brother Valentinian, to whom he always paid so great a deference and respect, as if he had been his Lieutenant, and not his Collegue. But he, in the mean while, permitted Eudoxius to act as he pleased.

(*t*) This man making an insolent use of his power, treated the Catholics at Constantinople with all manner of ill usage, and in order to be revenged on the Council of Semi-Arians that was held in opposition to him at Lampsacus, he put a stop to that which had been summoned to meet at Tarsus, and caused the bishops of his own party to assemble at Nicomedia, where he requited sufficiently the ill treatment which he had from his enemies. Nay, Eleusius himself, Bishop of Cizicus, who had been one of the most violent against him, seeing the credit he had with the Emperor, had not courage enough to resist him, or the menaces of Valens, but signed any thing he would have him. But was afterwards so shocked and offended at his own cowardise, that on his return to Cizicus, he publicly confessed his fault before all the people, and desired them to proceed to the election of another bishop, who had more courage and resolution than himself; but the people, who passionately loved him, absolutely refused to do it. Eudoxius having this favourable opportunity, made use of it for the advancement of his friend Eunomius, the most profligate and impious of all the disciples of Aëtius, and prevailed with the Emperor to place him in the see of Eleusius. But his continuance there was not long; for being a very bad man, and very impudent, but one of very little learning, knowing hardly any thing but the art of making sophisms, he preached such horrid blasphemies, without being cunning enough to conceal and suppress them, that the people of Cizicus, no longer able to bear with him, drove him in disgrace out of their town. Upon this he returns back to his patron Eudoxius, who being a man of more subtilty, and not so passionate as Eunomius, was afraid at that time to use any endeavours to procure his re-establishment, fearing lest he should ruin

(*t*) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 6, 6c.

himself, if he should defend the other's blasphemies. (u) At the same time Ursacius and Valens acted in concert with him, who had been his chief confidants next to Acacius bishop of Caesarea, who was just then dead, called a Council of Arians to assemble at Singidon, where, in opposition to the Semi-Arians, they confirmed the formulary of Rimini, of which they themselves had been the authors. They gave an account of this to Germinius, bishop of Sirmium, hoping to prevail with him to be of their party; but he absolutely refused joining with them, declaring that he would always keep to the third formulary of Sirmium, which they had signed all together in the presence of the Emperor Constantius.

A. D.
366.

While Arianism thus reigned triumphantly in the East, by the violence of Eudoxius, backed by the favour and authority of Valens, Damasus, who succeeded Liberius, bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the raging schism of Ursacius, behaved himself with the courage that became so great a man, to extinguish all remains of it in the West, which Auxentius, bishop of Milan, with all possible artifice was labouring to revive.

367.

The Emperor Valentinian, after having successfully concluded his war against the Germans, on his return to Milan, suffered himself to be too easily imposed on by the wiles of this deceitful man, who pretending to be of the Catholick Faith, used certain equivocal terms, as the manner of the Arians was, which seemed very advantageous to the Divinity of the Word, and might easily be converted into a general sense, and adapted to either angels or good men. The Emperor, who loved peace, was persuaded that he acted with sincerity, and moreover, without farther examining into the matter, fearing something might be discovered, if he did, that might be an obstacle to the peace he so earnestly desired, he published an edict in favour of Auxentius, requiring every body to esteem him as orthodox, without any longer questioning the orthodoxy of his Faith: That no one should refuse to communicate with him; that he should be recognized as Bishop, as he himself had done. St. Hilary, who well knew the malice of that Arian, could not bear that the Church should be so dangerously attacked by surprize: And seeing that neither Eusebius of Vercelle, nor Philagrius of Bressa, who had often endeavoured to discover the

368.

(u) Hil. Frag. lib. 1.

A. D. 369. artifices of that heretick, could be no longer listened to, so much had the specious appearance of peace abused the Emperor, he came to Milan to declare against Auxentius, to pronounce him an hypocrite, and signify that his Faith was very different from what he openly professed.

(*) The Emperor, alarmed at this action, named ten bishops, and two officers of his court, to hear the contest between Hilary and Auxentius. This Auxentius would have declined, alledging that a man ought not to be brought on his trial, that had been already condemned, and deposed by Saturninus. But his judges obliged him to proceed to justify himself, because the dispute now was only concerning the nature of his belief, of which the Emperor desired to be informed. Then Auxentius being pressed to declare plainly, if he believed that *JESUS CHRIST* was the true *GOD*, and of the same substance with his Father, as he had told the Emperor; he was under a necessity, for fear of being forthwith proved to have abused and imposed upon his Prince, of boldly declaring, that he did; upon which he was obliged to sign this declaration. But at the same time, to have a pretence for denying it when he pleased, he presented an address, very artfully penned, to Valentinian, complaining, first, how cruelly he was persecuted by the calumnies of Hilary and Eusebius; and afterwards, in declaring that he held the Faith as established in several holy Councils, and that he was neither an Arian, nor did he know Arius, he had given a description of his Faith in such ambiguous terms, that they might be understood in an Arian sense. But since he had openly professed before the bishops, that he believed *JESUS CHRIST* to be the true *GOD*, and his petition seemed to say the same thing in equivocal terms, Valentinian, who was prejudiced by the pretence of the peace of the Church, and the people, who readily followed the example of their Prince, accounted Auxentius orthodox, and Hilary a slanderer, and a man of a very turbulent and troublesome spirit; and notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary, they made him leave Milan, as a disturber of the publick repose, and the peace of the Church. Thus a peace unseasonably made, may be more pernicious than the continuance of a war; for in this case the defenders of the Catholick truth were

(*) Hil. cont. Auxen.

disarmed, and a concealed enemy received into her bosom, who could constantly annoy it afterwards without any resistance. Nevertheless St. Hilary acted with the same vigilance and courage for the defence of the Church, as he had formerly done. And having access no longer to the Emperor, he addressed himself by a letter to the Bishops of both Empires, together with the whole body of the faithful, in which he gave an exact account of all that passed in the conference at Milan, and clearly discovered to them the hypocrisy of Auxentius, and the Arian poison that was concealed under the fallacious terms of his petition, by which he had ensnared the Emperor, and abused the whole court. After which that strenuous defender of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, was removed to Heaven, to receive the crown which he deserved for his glorious contending for the Faith on earth. Auxentius, on his part, strove to make the most of his victory, and seeing that his artful management had not only deceived Valentinian, but even the orthodox Christians of Milan, who took him for a real convert, he attempted to publish the formulary of Rimini, and that of Nice, throughout all Thrace, which was received by some of the Bishops of Illyria, who were by this means imposed upon, as well as the rest.

But Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was a person of too much penetration to be deceived after this manner, in an affair of that consequence, and had too much resolution not to oppose the attempts of the impostor, altho' supported by the protection of the Emperor, who had suffered himself to be so easily deceived by him. (y) That Bishop had already condemned Valens and Ursacius, the two first and most dangerous Arians that had been in the West. Athanasius likewise, and the Bishops of Egypt and Africa, who were assembled in a Synod, made very pressing instances for removing that usurper from the chair of Milan, who was not only a notorious Arian, but an accomplice with Gregory in all his crimes, who had intruded into the Church of Alexandria, and whom he had ordained priest. And altho' Damasus had for some time deferred taking notice of him, because Auxentius had seemingly professed the Catholic Faith, to gain the Emperor's protection, he waited for further proof of the sincerity of his conversion.

A. D. 369. (z) But when he had presented his petition to the Emperor, containing Arianism in disguise, which he would have put off for the true Faith: Then Damasus, having assembled at Rome fourscore and ten Bishops of Italy and Gaul, that impostor was there solemnly condemned and anathematized. They again abolished what had been done in the Council of Rimini. They declared also, that the only Catholick Faith was that of Nice in Bithynia, and then sent their decisions in a synodical epistle to the Bishops of Illyria that had suffered themselves to be imposed on by Auxentius. (a) This sentence was approved of by all the Churches of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, who condemned in their Synods the four or five noted Arians that still remained in the West, by which they were happily delivered of that pest, which had lately made such an havoc amongst them.

But at the same time the Eastern Church, instead of enjoying the like calm, was more harrassed than ever, by a horrible persecution excited by Valens. (b) For that Emperor, being now no longer hindered by his war with the Goths, which ended without any memorable action, having accepted the proposals for peace which were offered by the Goths, nor awed by his brother, who had been too easily wrought on in the affair of Auxentius, he resolved now publicly to put in execution what he had promised by oath to Eudoxius. And to this end, he gave orders to all magistrates, that all the Bishops who had been banished by Constantius, and restored by Julian, should be deprived of their bishopricks. This was an open declaration of war against the Catholics, and a publick attempt to restore Arianism into most of the Churches of the East, by there placing Arians instead of the orthodox. The prefect of Egypt, being intimidated by the penalties laid upon the magistrates that should neglect forthwith to obey the imperial edict, was for immediately putting it in execution, by banishing Athanasius from his see. But the Alexandrians vigorously opposed it, remonstrating that their Patriarch could not be comprised in this edict, since he left his bishoprick voluntarily in the reign of Constantius, and that Julian was so far from restoring him, that he sent persons to Alexandria to put him to death. But not

(z) Theod. l. 2. c. 22. Sozom. l. 6. c. 23.
(b) Soz. l. 6. c. 12.

(a) Athan. Ep. ad Episc.

withstanding this remonstrance, the governour persisting in his resolution, a great tumult was raised in the city, and the Alexandrians declared to a man; that they would all perish rather than part with their Patriarch Athanasius. Wherefore the prefect not having sufficient strength to enforce his commands, and fearing a general insurrection, pursued that matter no further. Nevertheless, a few days after, when the tumult was appeased, Athanasius, unwilling any disorder should happen upon his account, made his escape in the night both from his friends and enemies, and hid himself in a desert place, or, as some will have it, in the tomb of his father, where he was concealed four months; not being able to get a safer retreat, at a time when by his flight he procured the quiet of his people more than his own.

It is very apparent that the good man was directed to this course by the hand of Providence. For the very night that he retired; the governour believing that the tumult was ceased, thought he might seize him without disturbance, and thereupon surrounded his palace; but after having searched all his apartments to no purpose, he was obliged to retire before daylight, much displeased at having missed his aim. But this storm was presently succeeded by a calm, when the whole city was overwhelmed with sorrow and despair for the loss which they had sustained. For whether it was that the Emperor had some shame or remorse for attacking a man of so great reputation, and who had in all his conflicts come off with glory and conquest, or that he feared a general revolt in Alexandria, which had so zealously declared for their Patriarch, who was so dear to them, or it may be that the Arians themselves, by a fine piece of policy, had rather he should continue the rest of his life, which in course of nature could not be long, in Alexandria, than that being driven from thence he should be compelled to have recourse to Valentinian, or perhaps Valens himself, whom he might disabuse; however it was, the Emperor wrote word back to the prefect, that he should let him remain peaceably in his see, and that he was not intended in the edict. So that being returned to Alexandria, where he was received by the general applause of the whole Church, he governed his diocese ever after with abundance of peace and tranquility. But soon after, hearing that Eusebius bishop of Verselle, his companion in travel, was removed to a crown of glory, he died like him, full of years and good works.

A. D. 371. works, in a perfect state of ease, after having passed all his life in continual conflicts for the defence of the Faith. (c) The whole city was full of mourning and tears for his decease, nor could they otherwise comfort themselves under their grief than by the extraordinary respect which they paid to his memory, in making a most magnificent funeral, which even surpassed the splendor of their triumphs, when they celebrated his conquests, on his return to Alexandria. The glorious actions which he did in his life-time, and the terrible persecution which history relates him to have undergone with invincible courage, and the fine encomiums which the most eloquent of the Fathers have given him, and the admirable works which he hath left to posterity, give us so exalted an idea of the greatness of his soul and mind, that I dare not venture to draw the portraiture of this incomparable man, lest it should be found to come far short of the original.

But while the Church of Alexandria were at peace by the return of their Patriarch, all the East besides was terribly harrassed by the fury and cruelty of the Arians. The orthodox bishops were driven from their sees, banished to barbarous countries, hereticks were by force put into their bishopricks, and to support their tyranny, the severest punishments and most cruel torments were exercised upon all that opposed them. (d) Pelagius bishop of Laodicea, a man of remarkable virtue, and one who defended the truth with an Apostolick zeal, was banished to Arabia. Gregory Nyssen, who could not possibly be meant in the edict, because but lately advanced to his bishoprick, was driven from it by a Synod which the Arians held in Galatia, to exterminate all those that Valens had spared, by some restrictions, which he was not sorry were rendered useless, by the determination which the bishops, whom he permitted to act in those cases, gave against the orthodox. And Eusebius of Samosata, one of the most formidable adversaries the Arians had in the East, was banished to the farthest part of Thrace, near the banks of the river Danube.

(e) Nothing can be more worthy of our admiration than the conduct of Eusebius on this occasion; never was the duty that is to be paid to Caesar better reconciled with that which we owe to

(c) Socr. lib. 4. Greg. Naz. orat. in laud. Athan.

(d) Theod. l. 4. c. 12.

(e) Theod. l. 4. c. 13.

God: For he advised the person who brought the Emperor's order to him in the evening, if he had any regard for his life, not to mention the least tittle of it, for were it known, the people would certainly throw him into the river. But told him farther, that he would be always near him, and answer for it, that his orders should be executed without his running any hazard. After this the good bishop, having assisted at the publick offices, as usual, that nothing might be suspected of what had passed, left the city in the night, attended only by one servant, who carried his bible; and getting into a bark on the Euphrates, which runs close by the walls of Samosata, he fled away as fast as he could. But when his flight was known, being discovered by one of his domesticks that perceived it, the whole city run after him, and having overtook him at Zeugma, a little lower down on the river, they conjured him in the most moving manner that was possible, to have more tenderness for them, than at that time to abandon his poor flock to the Arian wolves, that were ready to devour them. However, the bishop continued stedfast in his resolution, and answered them in the words of St. Paul, who commands us to obey them that have the rule over us. And after having strengthened them with very powerful exhortations, without taking from them either silver or gold, which all earnestly pressed him to accept, he went towards the place of his exile, and the people of Samosata returned to their city, fully resolved never to have the least intercourse with the Arians. In short, when they placed over them a bishop of the Arian faction, he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by every body, who utterly abhorred him, even to such a degree, that no one would go into the publick bath after him, till the water was changed. Not being able to bear these affronts, and rightly judging that violent means would be of no service to him, he chose to retire, and leave them.

His successor did not use them after that manner, for seeing himself so extremely hated, that the very children threw one of their balls thro' the fire, that had but touched the foot of his mule; then he set about persecuting them by the Emperor's officers, who banished the chief of the Clergy, and among others, Antiochus, the nephew of Eusebius, but could not in the least stagger the Faith, or shake the constancy of that people; for the idea of their bishop being always present to their minds, it preserved them steady.

A. D. 371. steady in the Faith. However, this admirable man, after having rendered unto Cæsar his due, was for giving unto God also what he required from him. (*f*) For observing in what extreme danger he found the Churches of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, that they had neither priests nor pastors among them, he travelled in the habit of a soldier, and by that means went safely thro' all the provinces by virtue of his disguise, ordaining deacons and priests, and exercising indifferently in every diocese all the Episcopal functions, altho' it is forbidden by the Canons. (*g*) For as he thought he had a divine impulse so to do, he without any scruple undertook it, the spiritual necessities of his neighbour, and Christian charity, which were the chief laws of Christianity, moving him thereunto; which laws do not depend on the wisdom and will of humane legislators, and ought to be preferred to the laws of the Church, which are not established with an intent to supersede their force.

There were moreover many cities in the East that gloriously distinguished themselves by their steady adherence to the true Faith, particularly Nicopolis in Armenia. The Arians seeing that neither clergy nor people, after the death of their bishop Theodorus, would receive any one of their party into that see, they contrived this notable deceit to impose upon them, which was very unbecoming men of honour, and what nothing but the Arian heresy could have suggested. For they suborned a very vile man, whose name was Phortanus, who a long while pretended to be very zealous in defence of the Catholick Faith, and at length, seemingly with much reluctance, and if as overcome by their importunities, consented to be their bishop. But as soon as the treachery was known, and they were apprized that he sold his soul and his faith in order to deceive them, they would never acknowledge him. And altho' the Arian governour had drove them all out of their city, and they were just come to blows and tortures, they continued firm and resolved, and consequently always ill treated, till Arintheus, general of the army against the Persians, at the instances of Terentius, one of the chief officers, a great friend of St. Basil, re-established them in their authority, and left them entirely at liberty to elect a Catholick bishop.

(*f*) Theod. c. 12.(*g*) Baron. ad ann. 370. n. 14.

(b) This was that famous Terentius, who did an action becoming the generosity of a true Christian spirit, which may serve for a pattern to all such as are employed by Princes, and are willing to prefer the regard they should always have to the interests of Heaven, before any views of raising their own fortune. For after many glorious actions, and having gained great advantages against the Persians in Armenia, Valens, who received him with great testimonies of esteem, gratitude, and affection, bid him boldly ask what he would have as a recompence for all his glorious Toils. Then this generous Christian presented a petition which he had prepared for the occasion: "My Lord, says he, if my services have deserved any thing at your Majesty's hands, and you will condescend to grant me my request, contained in that writing, I have nothing more to ask, and shall be highly pleased with my good fortune." Valens having read his petition, found it was neither riches, honours, governments, or provinces that he desired, but that he would grant one Church to those that justly merited them all, to wit, the Catholics, who were continually exposed to dangers for the defence of the pure doctrine of the Apostles. The Emperor was astonished at this request, which he did not in the least expect, nor could he contain his rage and resentment, which he immediately expressed, by tearing his petition in pieces, and throwing it with fury on the ground. However, he bid him ask something of another kind, for he was resolved to do some honour to him for his exploits, that all the soldiery might see that he knew how to distinguish and reward merit. But Terentius having without any concern gathered up the scattered pieces of his petition, said, "Here, my Lord, is the reward I have received from your Imperial Majesty, I desire no other, being satisfied with this; for I trust in my presenting it to my God, who knows the intentions of my heart, that I had no other end in offering this but his glory, that in recompence he will crown me with it." This answer much offended Valens, but he concealed his resentment, because he stood in need of the service of so great a man.

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(b) Theod. lib. 4. cap. 28.

4. D. Nor did he succeed according to his wishes, when he went into
371. (*) Scythia minor, which lies between the Danube and the Euxine sea, and endeavoured to establish Arianism among them. For altho' he had many cities in that province, yet there was but one bishop, who kept his residence at *Tomes*, a large city bordering on the sea-shore, and very populous. Being arrived there, the Emperor would needs go in procession to the great Church, where a multitude of people were assembled, partly to satisfy the desire which they had to see the Emperor; partly because they apprehended, that, as he had not formerly, so he would not now make any alteration in the state of Religion. (†) But in short, as soon as he got thither (†), he tried all arguments upon the bishop *Bretannio*, to prevail on him to communicate with the Arian bishops, and to conform himself to their sentiments, because he would have but one Faith professed throughout his Empire. But that holy Prelate replied to him with an invincible firmness, and said, That when the whole East had deserted it, he and his people always inviolably stuck to the Faith delivered by the Council of Nice, which was the same with that of the Apostles. But being hard pressed by the Emperor, he thought that he could better reply by letting him see the effects of his resolution, than by words, which could make no impression on so obstinate and perverse a disposition as his: Therefore without any further contest, he went out of his church, in order to betake himself to another, and was instantly followed by the people, who left *Valens* alone with his Arians, and being exceedingly enraged to see himself thus abandoned, thinking that so generous an action as this, was the most sensible affront he could receive from his subjects. Wherefore retiring out of the church in a great rage, he gave immediate orders for seizing the bishop, and sending him directly into banishment. But soon after fear got the better of his resentment: For reflecting on what he had done, he was apprehensive that the people, provoked by being deprived of their Bishop, would resent it, and instead of defending the passages of the Danube against the Barbarians, as they had hitherto done with abundance of courage, success, and fidelity, might, to revenge the violence offered them, join with the enemy

(*) *This is part of Bulgary, between Dabent and the mouth of the Danube.*

(†) *Soz. lib. 6. cap. 20.*

(†) *Temeswar.*

in his absence to attack the Empire; he therefore, upon mature deliberation, recalled Britannio from banishment, from whence he entered into his church as in triumph, and after that the Scythians were no more disturbed by the Arians about matters of Religion. A.D. 371.

(k) But the horrible persecution which was raised at that time against the Catholics at Constantinople, had not so happy a conclusion, by reason of the cruelty of Valens, who had nothing to fear on that side.

Eudoxius, Patriarch of Constantinople, dying, a little after the Emperor went to Antioch, the Arians forthwith elected in his stead Demophilus, an old and infamous Arian: And the Catholics taking the opportunity of Valens's absence, on their part elected Evagrius, whom a certain orthodox Bishop, then at Constantinople, immediately consecrated. This caused a great uproar in that city, because the Arians not being able to endure this, at a time when they had all the power in their own hands, used their utmost endeavours to procure all possible ill treatment for the Catholics. And those among the orthodox that were powerful enough, had not sufficient resolution, by their constancy, to expose themselves to want. The Emperor, who had notice brought him of this at Nicomedia, staid there to give orders about this affair, which he judged of great importance for the maintaining his authority: He therefore sent a good body of troops to Constantinople, and gave orders to the officers to banish Evagrius, and the Bishop that had ordained him. (l) This so far inflamed the courage of the Arians, and made them so insolent, that there was no kind of mischief, no kind of indignation, but what they offered to the Catholics, depriving them of their dignities and estates, inflicting on them corporal punishments, and sacrilegiously profaning what they held most sacred. For they overthrew their altars, and mixt the blood of the priests with that of JESUS CHRIST, in the holy mysteries which they in a horrible manner defiled, by murders, and a thousand other abominations, which they committed on the altar.

The Catholics of Constantinople could no longer bear such an insupportable tyranny; wherefore they deputed twenty-four of their Clergy to go to the Emperor, then at Nicomedia, to com-

(k) Socr. l. 4 c. 13. Sozom. l. 6. c. 13, 14. (l) Greg. Naz. orat. adv. Arian.

A. D. plain of their grievances. Being arrived they desired audience,
 371. and altho' the Emperor liked not to see persons whom he did not love, and who came so publickly to request a thing so very just, and which he had no mind to grant, yet he could not reject them, because he would not be seen openly to act the tyrant. They were therefore brought before him, and it is said that Theodorus, one of the chief of the deputies, a man venerable both for his age and piety, thus addressed him: " My Lord, The almost inexpressible miseries which we have endured, would not have brought us hither to lay our complaints at your Majesty's feet; no, we should every where have expressed the joy that we feel for our sufferings: For we are assured both from the words and the example of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, our master, and our true GOD, that the more a Christian suffers for the interest of the true religion, and for the honour of its author, the greater happiness shall he enjoy in this life, and have assurance of that which is to be bestowed in another. But, my Lord, what we have at heart, is your Majesty's own glory, and the glory of GOD, which, doubtless, is beyond comparison more dear to you than your own. When it is told with horror, that the citizens themselves, in the Imperial city, exercise against us greater cruelties than we had suffered, if the Barbarians had taken and plundered us, when it is said that they pillage, beat, and revile us, drive us from our habitations, destroy, violate, and burn us, plunder our churches, and commit the most execrable insolences even in our holy places, and insult our mysteries; it might reasonably be asked, what monstrous crime we have committed, and why we are left to the unbridled license of some particular men, who have neither law on their side, nor the authority of magistrates: The reason we apprehend is, because we hold the Faith derived to us from the Apostles, conveyed to us by the hands of holy orthodox Bishops, their successors, and which hath been constantly maintained in the Church for three hundred and eighteen years, and was so solemnly confirmed at the Council of Nice, in the presence of Constantine the great. There is no other reason to be given for the evils we have suffered, and the cruel treatment we have undergone, than that which made so many tyrants, and so many
 " martyrs.

“ martyrs. The very same reason, I say, which hath so cruelly *A. D.*
 “ armed the fury and impiety of the Dioclesians, the Maximins, 371.
 “ and the Nero’s against the LORD, and against his CHRIST;
 “ which, on the other side, made so many invincible heroes in the
 “ cause of Christianity, who have so gloriously triumphed over all
 “ the power and force of a thousand torments: In a word, it must
 “ be said, that like them we suffer in defence of the Divinity of
 “ our LORD, which those tyrants would not suffer us to adore,
 “ and the martyrs confessed as the true GOD, in the unity of Es-
 “ sence and Nature, with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

“ This, Sir, is the crime we are charged with, and for which
 “ they renew against us the most cruel persecutions of the Hea-
 “ thens. If it be glorious to us to suffer like martyrs, yet it seems
 “ insupportable that a few men, under a Christian Emperor, should
 “ attempt to abolish the Faith of martyrs, and, in order to it, use the
 “ arms that were formerly used by persecuting tyrants, and that too
 “ under the pretence of your Majesty’s authority. We are too
 “ jealous of your honour, to suffer without discovery your fame to
 “ be blemished by so dishonourable an action. The most august
 “ quality you at this day possess, and which raises you infinitely
 “ above the Imperial dignity itself, is that of being a Confessor for
 “ the name of JESUS CHRIST. To your glory, Sir, I speak it, and
 “ to the honour of our LORD, who inspired you with courage
 “ and resolution worthy of a Christian hero. You have confessed
 “ his Divinity before Julian, and you have had the glory, with
 “ your august brother, to maintain, to the confusion of Paganism,
 “ when it was most powerful, that the very same person, whom the
 “ Apostate called Galilean, was the only GOD that ought to be
 “ adored. The sword and the command which you threw up, and the
 “ exile you underwent, rather than renounce the Faith, are marks
 “ of honour, more glorious to your Majesty, than the Purple, the
 “ Diadem, and the Imperial Throne, which are the illustrious recom-
 “ pence that our LORD hath given you in this life, for so good
 “ and so glorious a Confession. Should your Majesty then suffer
 “ this glory to be taken from you, by its being reported thro’ all
 “ the world, that you suffer those to be persecuted that endeavour
 “ to imitate you, in the greatest of all your actions, in confessing
 “ JESUS CHRIST as you have done? Julian himself, that de-
 “ serted the Christian religion, and Apostate as he was, never
 “ attempted

A. D. 371. " attempted openly to persecute it: How then can a Christian Emperor, and a Confessor of JESUS CHRIST be prevailed upon to do it ?

" No, Sir, your Majesty's nature will not admit of so much cruelty, which proceeds from those that abuse your power, and we are persuaded that the bare representation of it, will be sufficient to put a stop to the persecution. We come not here to demand vengeance against our persecutors, for the barbarities they have committed: That we leave to the Almighty, and supplicate your Majesty's mercy and pardon, on their behalf. All that we petition your justice and clemency for, is to take out of their hands the power of thus cruelly oppressing us, and that we may have the liberty granted to us, by several edicts, of being Christians in spirit and in truth, and worshipping JESUS CHRIST as the true GOD. We demand only the benefit of the edicts published in our behalf, in like manner as is observed thro' the whole Empire with respect to the Arians and Pagans themselves. The Emperor Valentinian, who made that edict with your Majesty, for the peace of the Empire, judging that no person ought to be disturbed on the account of religion, permitted us to live according to our Faith throughout all the West. We hope your Majesty, who acts with the same spirit, and who is no less equitable, will not permit any one to hinder us from living after the same manner in all places subject to your obedience, particularly in Constantinople, which ought as preciousely at least to preserve the Faith of Constantine the great, as it doth his name, memory, and body."

This speech being pronounced with abundance of force and respect, was heard by the Emperor with great indignation, which he however dissembled, till he had resolved with his Prefectus Pratorii what to do in the matter. When he had retired with the confidant of all his secrets, and disburthened himself, he was no longer master of his passion: For raging, like thunder, and pouring himself out like a furious torrent that had been long pent up, he gave orders to the officer forthwith to seize the four and twenty deputies, and put them to death. The Prefect, who was a cruel man, and easily followed the inclinations of his master, did not in the least endeavour to appease him. He only told him, that
ould they be publickly executed, such a spectacle might irritate
the

the people, and cause a sedition, which might be attended with pernicious consequences. Wherefore after having considered the matter, he took a barbarous resolution, which was still more barbarously executed than it had been conceived. For the Prefect going to the deputies, who waited for the Emperor's answer, he told them, (since he was charged with so odious a commission) he must let them know, that they were declared the chief of those that obstructed the party and the religion of the Prince, and he had orders to send them into banishment. To which all the deputies with much greatness of soul answered, that they esteemed themselves happy to be put in the number of the Confessors of JESUS CHRIST, and that they were ready to suffer not only exile, but death itself, in so glorious a cause. After which Modestus having privately given orders to those who were to conduct them, made them all embark on board the same vessel, as if to transport them to the place of their banishment. But when they were got into the main sea, offering themselves continually a sacrifice to GOD, they offered a much greater and speedier one than they believed they should. For the soldiers and mariners having on a sudden set the ship on fire in several places, threw themselves into their skiffs, and the vessel being all on fire, and driven by a violent wind, which increased the flame, gave some time from the sea a horrible spectacle to the land, and pleasure and triumph to Heaven; who received these victims, more enflamed with the fire of love for JESUS CHRIST, than by these flames, and at last happened to carry their sacred cinders, with the burning remains, into a port of Bithynia.

After so barbarous an action, which was detested by the ministers of his cruelty themselves, Valens pursuing his journey towards Antioch, came to Cæsarea, the capital city of Cappadocia, to revenge the affront the Arians had received in the election of St. Basil, and to force him out of his see, if he did not voluntarily resign it. This admirable man, after having some time before retired to the solitude of Pontus, being returned to Cæsarea to oppose the Arians, had been elected Bishop by the common consent of the people; after the death of Eusebius, his predecessor, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Arians, who would have had a Bishop of their own party. St. Gregory Nazianzen, his intimate friend, not yet raised to the Episcopal dignity, had obliged him to accept
that.

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A. D. that dignity, and strenuously assisted him in the war which he carried on so successfully against heresy, that he quite extinguished it in his diocese. He extended his care to all the Churches in the East, writing to the Catholics to confirm them, and encourage them under this persecution, as he had been Bishop of all the Churches that had been oppressed, and deprived of their pastors. (*m*) Valens, who would fain have gained him to his party, ordered Modestus to use his utmost endeavours to that purpose: And indeed he omitted nothing that he could do either by entreaties or threats, to gain or to intimidate him, in order to bring him over to the Emperor's party. But he always found him a man who by the greatness of his soul, and the generous contempt which he shewed for all that was great or terrible in the world, that he put him to silence, and obliged him to cry out, that he had never met a person who dared talk to him after that manner. To whom, without any concern, the good Bishop replied, that he therefore supposed that he had never before had any thing to do with a Bishop, for had he had any conversation with any Bishop on the like occasion, he would certainly have been treated after the same manner. Upon which the Prefect, after having tried all his artifices, and lost his patience, went hastily to find out the Emperor, and inform him that he must either undergo the disgrace of being conquered by a man, who attempted to triumph over the Imperial power, or by force oppress him, to avoid it. But whether the Emperor feared a general insurrection in *Cæsarea*, or that he was prevailed upon by the reputation of so great a man, or would dissemble it on this occasion, or desired to throw upon Modestus the infamy of that horrible cruelty that had been exercised at *Nicomedia* upon the four and twenty deputies; be that as it will, he rejected the proposal of Modestus, reproaching him with it, and not only forbade him offering any violence to *Basil*, but he himself affected paying him abundance of respect.

372. For upon the Epiphany, he came to the church, attended by his guards, and accompanied by the whole court, to let the whole world see, by that notable testimony, that he retained no enmity against *St. Basil*, nor had any hand in what had passed between him and Modestus. But whether this was done out of policy, or in reality, it is certain that he was so affected by the devo-

(*m*) *Greg. Naz. or. in laud. Basil. Soz. lib. 6. cap. 15.*

tion of an infinite number of people that filled the church, the majesty of the service, and that of the holy Bishop, who at his entrance, which was made with much noise and tumult, remained all the while on his throne immovable as a statue, and his eyes were dazzled; insomuch that when he came to the offering, the priests who assisted at the altar were forced to take him in their arms to prevent his falling. This increased the esteem and veneration which he had for St. Basil, with whom another day, in the same church, and within the rails of the altar, he held a long conference, in which he allowed this great man the liberty of saying to him, as he did, the most moving and most convincing things in the world, to bring him out of that abyss, into which the wicked Eudoxius had unhappily plunged him. (n) But altho' he mollified his heart, and obliged him to pay him all the respect that could be expected from an Emperor; yet his heart was always like iron, which the fire softens for a time, but however cannot change its nature.

In truth, the Emperor ceased not to be an Arian, and soon after resumed his former cruelty. For the Arian bishops, who were always about him, so far prevailed, that they obliged him to command a decree to be prepared for the banishment of St. Basil. There were all the necessary precautions taken to prevent any disturbance that might arise in the city. It was necessary therefore to carry him away by night; accordingly his chariot was ready, with the soldiers who were commanded to guard him. So that nothing remained to be done but signing the decree, and giving it to the officer who was to execute it: When God by two extraordinary accidents, which were two instances of his Almighty power, suddenly put a stop to the execution of that injustice. For when Valens was going to sign the decree, he could make but one letter, and his pen split in his hand; the same thing happening three times together, and as he was obstinately attempting it the fourth, his hand begun to tremble; which terrified him so much, that for fear of something worse, he forthwith tore in pieces the decree. The other accident, which sensibly afflicted him was, that Galates, his only son, and an infant, was smitten at the same time with a disease, which made him entirely despair of his life. Valens, who was ashamed to apply

(n) Greg. Naz. or. in laud. Basil.

A.D. 372. to St. Basil after using him so ill, and who besides hoped to save his son by his prayers, sent one of his officers under hand as requesting it from himself, to intreat him to come and visit the young prince, and to pray to God for his recovery. He failed not of doing it; and as soon as he came into the room the child grew better, and continued so well, that Valens had good hopes of his recovery. After he had entertained these hopes, he caused him to be baptized by an Arian bishop, notwithstanding all the protestations of St. Basil. This poor young prince relapsing into the former extremity of his distemper, died soon after. (o) It was not so with Modestus, who being struck with a mortal disease, threw himself only into the arms of Basil, confessing his crime, and crying out with a lamentable voice, *You may be satisfied with the chastisement I have deserved, therefore save my life.* The holy Bishop did it, as the Prefect himself testifies, never speaking of that great man afterwards, but with praises, and admiration of his virtues.

The Emperor, astonished at these miracles, never durst attempt any thing farther against St. Basil, and leaving him at quiet in his diocese, went into Syria to vent his rage. The fear which he had of the Persians had drawn him thither; but finding all very quiet on that side, he had the liberty which he desired of waging a cruel war against the Catholics. (p) It is impossible to relate with what fury and cruelty he proceeded against them throughout all Syria, especially at Antioch, where he put many to death, some by torture, and others by ordering them to be thrown into the Orontes. He sent into banishment Melitius, a Bishop who, for his exceeding goodness, was so passionately beloved by that part of the Catholics who were of his party, that they gave his name to all their children, that each of them might have his representation in their houses. In this trial did this great man make it appear that he was worthy of the universal love which they bore him: For the people, enraged at having their pastor ravished from them, followed the officer that carried him off, throwing stones at him, and without doubt would have beaten him severely; but this holy man, covering him with his mantle, threw himself upon him to guard him, tho' he put himself in danger; the sight of which disarmed the people, who were afraid

(o) Ephr. Diac. or. in laud. Basil. Socr. l. 4. c. 21. Theod. l. 4. c. 17. Soz. l. 6. c. 15. (p) Socr. l. 4. c. 14. Sozom. l. 6. c. 17.

of hurting him, who, in saving the life of his persecutor, gave room for executing the unjust decree against him. (q) The holy hermits, who dwelt in the neighbouring mountains, quitted their cells on this occasion, to come to the succour of the Catholicks, during the rage of this horrible persecution, and to second the generous efforts of Flavian and Diodorus, who took on them the care of the flock of Melitius.

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Aphraates, one of the most celebrated among the hermits, who was in great reputation at Antioch, for the great miracles which God had often wrought by his ministry, came to join himself to those two presbyters, to encourage the people. And when the Emperor sharply reproached him for quitting his cell, contrary to the monastick discipline, he generously replied, that the law of God obliged him to quit it, to come to extinguish the fire that had been kindled in the house of God. There fell out at the same time a thing which extremely astonished Valens, and hindered him from ill using the servant of God: For one of his attendants having taken the liberty in his presence to use outrageous and scurrilous language against this holy hermit, this insolent fellow presently after going to prepare a bath for his master, was seized with a sudden frenzy, which made him throw himself into a caldron of boiling water, where he in a short time miserably perished.

In short, to increase their force, Aphraates caused Julian Sabas to come out of his cave, another anchorite, and a very wonderful man, whom the Arians every where publicly declared to be of their party. This was one of the strongest reasons that brought him from his desert, to come forthwith to Antioch, where all the people, who were gone into the country, had left the Emperor alone with his Arians. The Emperor received him as in triumph, and after his arrival thither, he said and did such miraculous things to confound those slanderers, and Arianism itself, that Valens was constrained to abandon his enterprize, and to leave the Catholicks of Antioch at peace. Thus this holy man having triumphed over heresy, returned to his solitude; and to complete his victory by an extraordinary stroke, he in passing thro' Cyrus, a

· (q) Chryf. hom. de St. Milet. & apud Nican. conc. 2. A&. 4. Theod. lib. 4. cap. 23, 24.

A. D. 372. little city in Syria, subdued one of the greatest blasphemers of the name of **JESUS CHRIST** that ever was known, and who was, as it were, the Goliath of the Arians. (*r*) This was the wretched sophist Asterius, who from an apostate from the Christian religion was become an Arian, to become a tool to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and was at length rewarded for it with a bishoprick.

The Catholick inhabitants of that city came full of sorrow to this holy man, to tell him that they were almost in despair, (*s*) because this sophist, a great orator, very subtle, and very eloquent, was on the morrow, a solemn festival day, to do some notable action in favour of Arianism, and that they were greatly afraid that he would seduce some of the people by his sophistical subtleties, supported by a studied eloquence; for it was for this reason that the Arian faction had caused him to come thither. Upon this the good man comforting them, told them, that they should take courage, and should apply to **GOD** in fervent prayer, joined with repentance and mortification. They did so, and the day following, when Asterius prepared to get into his chair, he found himself suddenly struck with a violent distemper, which in four and twenty hours brought him to his grave.

But on the other hand, if the Emperor could not do in Syria all the mischief he had designed, he failed not, on an occasion which unhappily presented itself at the same time, to do what was the source of numberless other mischiefs, and which afterwards made a terrible havock in the world, and principally in the West; and this deplorable evil, which was at last, by the just judgment of **GOD**, very fatal to the author of it, was the finding out a way of engaging the Gothick nation in the cause of Arianism. This event having been the cause of that prodigious change which afterwards happened in the Church and Empire, by the furious inundations, and the conquests of these people, and many others that followed them; I believe it may be very proper to give a faithful account of their original and country, without mixing any thing fabulous in the relation, to the end that when we come to speak of them in this history, any one may presently know them; and that there may be no occasion to interrupt the course of it, to let the reader know from whence they came.

(*r*) Athan. de Synod.

(*s*) Theod. in Philoth.

Europe, which consists of so many different states and kingdoms, might, in the time of the Roman Emperors, be divided into two parts; one of which contained all the Western part of their Empire, except Africa, and the other all the rest. The former is bounded by the Mediterranean sea, from the Archipelago to the streights of Gibraltar, the Western ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube, till you come up to the mouth of it. The latter contains that vast tract of land which extends itself from the Rhine, in the West, thro' Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy, to the Palus Mœtis, and the river Tanais, in the East, between the Danube and the Pontus Euxinus on the South, and by the great Northern ocean.

The first was well improved, pleasant, rich, full of fine cities, and abounding with whatever might contribute either to the conveniences or pleasures of life, especially after the Romans, who were grown luxurious, became masters of it. The latter, on the contrary, was entirely wild, dreadful to behold, full of forests, unpleasant, uncultivated, producing no other fruits but what nature brought forth of itself for men's subsistence; they themselves contributing nothing to it, but by hunting and fishing. Besides, the people increased prodigiously, either by reason of the coldness of the climate, which preserved all their heat, or because of their licentiousness, which was not restrained by any laws, or kept within the just bounds of lawful marriage: And as they were a valiant people, dauntless, nay even wild and rash, and void of all other fear, except that of seeming to have any; for which reasons not being able to keep themselves confined within their own country, they went in search of some other, where they might lead a more pleasant life, and establish themselves by force of arms.

As in a storm at sea the waves heap one upon another, and force themselves along, till with a dreadful noise striking against the banks, made on purpose to keep them off, and breaking into foam, they return back from whence they came with the same precipitation; but when the banks are no longer able to resist the impetuous fury of these waves, followed by innumerable others, finding every thing give way, they spread all over the fields, and by a terrible inundation swallow up towns, and drown a whole country, which thereby suddenly changing its nature, instead of land, which it was before, becomes an addition to the ocean: Just so the people who

A. D. 372. who inhabited this vast extent of wild and barren country, forced by necessity, which drove them beyond their own bounds, and prompted by a natural wildness to incroach upon their neighbours, followed so close one upon another, and drove one another so far, that at last being arrived on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, which were, as we may say, the bulwarks and barriers of the Empire, they there met with the Romans, who very often beat them back with great slaughter into their own country. But in the time of Honorius and Valentinian the third, when the Empire was entirely fallen, and the Roman courage so degenerated that they could no longer withstand the fierce attacks of the Barbarians, who became more valiant and skilful than their antient conquerors, they then having got over these bulwarks, and crossed the two rivers, spread themselves victoriously into all the provinces of the Empire, of which, having laid them waste, they became masters.

The Cimbri, who were the most northern people of Germany, inhabitants of that peninsula which we now call Jutland, belonging to the kingdom of Denmark, were the first that ever passed thro' Germany and invaded the Roman territories, where they were entirely defeated by Marius. The antient Saxons were their neighbours, and possessed all the country of Holfatia. After them came the English Saxons, who possessed that small tract of land which lies between the Elbe and the Baltick sea, from Hamburg and Lubeck as far as Mecklenburg. Part of this people having extended themselves afterwards to the mouth of the Rhine, crossed over into Britain, whither they had been called to the assistance of those whom they themselves oppressed; the other part became since very formidable both on this and the other side of the Elbe, till at last being subdued by the Franks, under the conduct of Charles the great, they threw themselves into Dacia and Pannonia, where joining with the remaining part of the Huns, they helped to compose the kingdom of Hungary.

All the inhabitants between the Rhine, Isel, Elbe, the Sala, and the Mane, to the sea, having been often injured by the Romans, who employed one part of them to beat the other, successively, joined together into one confederacy, and took upon them the name of Franks, much about the reign of Galienus, to signify thereby the generous resolution they had taken to defend their liberty

berty by force of arms, and maintain it against the tyranny of their oppressors, whom they drove out of Gaul, which Empire at length fell to themselves. A. D. 372-

The Marcomani, who formerly inhabited all that country which extends itself from the Mane to the mouth of the Danube, not contented with what they possessed, went and seized Bohemia. The Quadi were in possession of Moravia, and the Germans, who were a mixture of all sorts of the Gaulish nations, after having long possessed the lands which the Marcomani had abandoned, crossed over the Rhine a second time, made war against the Romans in the same part of Gaul which they had before left, and became masters of the country now inhabited by the Grisons. The Burgundi, who inhabited part of Great Poland between the Oder and Vistula, came after the Germans into Wirtemberg and Brisgau, whence having spread themselves into Gaul, much about the same time with the Franks, they there laid the foundation of the kingdom of Burgundy.

The Lombardi, who were their neighbours, being separated by the Oder, that ran between them, possessed those lands which lie between this river and the Elbe, and compose the greatest part of the Marquisate of Brandenburg. All those people, who possessed this vast tract of land, which runs between the Elbe and Saxa on the West side, and the Vistula on the East, from the sea up to the Danube, were formerly all known by the name of (t) Suevi, then common to them all: But from the time that they were known by particular names, and waged war against the Romans, none were called afterwards by that name, except the Hermanduri only, whose country lies between the Elbe, the Sala, the forest of Bohemia, and the Mane, in a direct line to the Danube, where now is situated on this side of the Elbe, Misnia, the Principality of Anhalt, Voiland, and a part of the higher Palatinate. But they since extended themselves beyond the Danube up to the lake of Constantia, in that very province which has retained their name to this day. These are they whom historians call Suevi, when they make a distinction between them and the Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundi, and the Lombardi.

(t) Vid. Cluver. lib. 3. cap. 28.

A. D. 372. The Northern parts all along the Baltick sea up to the Vistula, and even a great way by land, were the habitation of the Vandalick nations, the most (x) Eastern part of whom was that of the Gothoni, who were since named Goths, and who inhabited all along the Vistula up to the very mouth of it, in that country (x) which we now call Pomerella, where is seated the famous city of Dantzick, on the little river Rhodanus, in that place where it falls into the Vistula, and in the same place is the famous Eriadnus, so celebrated among the antients, where they used to gather amber, as is done to this day.

As for the original of the Goths, I shall here determine nothing, it being in dispute, as well as that of several other people, who have made themselves very famous in the world, and whose descent, by an odd sort of policy, is usually made dubious, and kept in the dark, in order to make it the more honourable. The common opinion with which people are prepossessed is, that they came from the Southern part of Swedeland, where Jornandes and Joannes Magnus, and their successors, reigned over them, even before the Trojan war, or the time of Hercules; but there is nothing to confirm this but meer relations, which want proof themselves, and which certainly carry with them somewhat of the air of what we call fabulous. But whether they descend from whence these authors are pleased to say or no, as that learned geographer (y) Cluverius strenuously asserts, and so will absolutely have it, that they are originally extracted from that country which they inhabited about the borders of the Vistula; what is most certain, and about which neither the one nor the other disagree, is, that this valiant people having spread themselves beyond the Oder, they obliged, by their victories, the Euruli to join with them, who were then in possession of the Cassubia, the Rugians, the Sidini, the Carini, and some other people of Vandalia, who possessed the country of Pomerania, with some part of Nova Marchia, so that they immediately incorporated themselves all into one people, under the name of Goths: That the other nations of Vandalia, in the country of Mecklenburg, and other neighbouring places, retained the name

(x) Tacit. de Germ. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 2. - (x) Philip. Cluver. lib. 3. c. 34.
(y) Lib. 3. cap. 24.

of Vandals, under which they were known to have afterwards gained great victories both in Spain and Africa; and that the Goths likewise on their side, thus strengthened by being joined with them, and so many other people, finding themselves too much confined within the narrow bounds of that small tract of land which they then possessed in Germany, between the Oder and the Vistula, they left it in order to go and subdue other countries.

It was therefore under the Empire of Marcus Aurelius, that these people divided themselves into two parts, whereof the lesser remained in the country, but chiefly in the islands called Eledrides, which lie at the mouth of the Vistula; and these are they who are called Gepidæ, which is a Gothick name, signifying idleness, because they were the last who left their country, not having followed the first conquerors till a great while after. The other part, which consisted of the most brave and resolute amongst them, crossed over the Vistula, under the command of Filimer their king; and after having gone thro' all Sarmatia, or the countries of Lithuania and Muscovy, up to the Palus Mœtia, these warriors did not find a convenient place to settle in amongst Barbarians, (z) who were at least as bad as themselves: For from thence sprung the Alains, and the Huns, people of Scythia, dwelling between the Boristhenes, the Tanais, and the Chersonesa Taurica, where the lesser Tartars and the Muscovites are now settled. Wherefore the Goths, not being pleased with so wild a country as that, turned to the west, crossed over the Boristhenes, otherwise called the Nieper; and having augmented their number by many of the Bastarni, people of the lesser Poland, of Russia nigra, and Podalia, who entered into confederacy with them, they came and settled in Dacia, otherwise the country of the Daci and the Getæ, which contains the countries of Moldavia, Walachia, and Transilvania, with a part of higher Hungary; for which reason historians and poets confound them sometimes with the people of Scythia, at other times with the Daci, or Getæ, as they are called by the Greeks. And as there was no other distinction between these latter and the Daci, but that they lay more Eastward; the Goths after their example also divided themselves into two nations.

(z) Jorn. de Ub. Get. Paulus Dias. in Misc. l. 11. c. 2.

A.D. 372. The people which inhabited the most Eastern parts towards the Pontus Euxinus up to the river Tyras, were the Ostrogoths, or the Eastern Goths, and were governed by the Princes of the house of Amali; those of the Western up to the river Tibiscus or Tissa, were called the Visigoths, or Western Goths, and had for their commanders the issue of the family of the Balthei.

They were both for some time very faithful to the Romans, to whom they were even of great use and service in the wars which they waged with the people of Germany: But as it was a difficult matter for so wild a people as the Goths to keep long quiet, without attempting something or other, they used often to cross the Danube, and do a great deal of mischief in the Roman territories. They even laid siege to Martiropolis in Thracia, in the time of Claudius the Emperor, near a hundred years after their arrival in Dacia; at which time the (a) Gepidæ leaving their islands under the conduct of Fastida their king, and following the steps of the Goths, to whom they were related, they came and made themselves masters of Transilvania: So that ever after they both made but one people in the same country of Dacia, which the Danube separated from the territories of the Empire. They continually crossed the river, and made excursions into Thracia, Illiria, and Pannonia, sometimes being victorious, but oftner beat and put to the rout; but at last being subdued by Constantine the great, they kept quiet within their own bounds.

It was about that time that, by the intercourse which they had with the Romans, a great many of them renouncing their idolatry embraced the Christian religion. They had also Theophilus for their bishop, whose name is found subscribed in the great Council of Nice; but the Christian religion, which they had received in all its purity, was soon after corrupted by Audæus the heresiarch. He was a man of an exemplary life, and strict virtue, but withal over-run with pride and self-conceit. (b) He not being able to bear the ill usage of the Clergy, whom he reprimanded severely for their vices, conceived so great a hatred against them, that separating himself from the Church, he maintained a

(a) Zozim. lib. 1.

(b) Epiph. hæres. 70.

great many errors, of which the chiefest and grossest of all was, that he asserted that GOD, who had created man after his own image, had also himself the same human form; which is what we call the heresy of the Antropomorphites. This heretick being banished by Constantius the Emperor, retired amongst the Goths, where he applied himself to preach the Gospel to the Pagans, and prevailed with a great many of them to become Christians. He even took upon himself to ordain bishops, and as he had still kept his former principles of austerity, he erected among them several monasteries, whose societies led a very regular and austere life, and very conformable to the monastick state, were it not for those errors with which they were grievously infected.

Some time after, Ulphilas bishop of the Visigoths, being obliged to go to Constantius's court, to manage some affairs relating to his nation, he there, out of complaisance, as we already shewed, subscribed to the Arian council of Constantinople. But as he did it only with a view of thereby obtaining, by the interest of Eudoxius, what he desired of the Emperor, they assuring him that the substance of the Council of Nice remained untouched, this action of his was attended with no ill consequences in his nation, where as yet he had altered nothing in the Catholick Faith. But the case was altered under Valens, who set stronger engines to work, in order to pervert both him and his people; for having granted them a peace, as they desired, after the war (c) which lasted three years together, he proposed to their deputies, amongst whom was Ulphilas, by the advice of Eudoxius, to embrace his communion, that being all united in their sentiments about matters of religion, that new tie of friendship and alliance which they had entered into, might become more durable. At first all of them generously answered, that they would do no such thing, and that they would never admit of the least alteration in the old Catholick Faith, which they had embraced, and which they were resolved inviolably to maintain to their last minute. But Eudoxius so dextrously managed Ulphilas, by protesting to him, that their intention was not to alter any thing of the essential parts of religion, but only the manner of expressing the same truths in other terms; that

(c) Theod. lib. 4. cap. 3.

A. D. 372. this bishop, whether he verily believed what that impostor alledged, or that he had been gained over by his flattery, and the presents he made him, told the Goths, amongst whom he was looked upon as an oracle, that they ought to enter into communion with the Emperor, whose Faith, after a strict examination, he found to be sound and entirely orthodox. So that the Goths till then were Catholicks, and continued in the right Faith, tho' Ulphilas, who might have sufficiently discovered the artifices of the Arians, was not altogether so, but from that time began to incline towards Arianism.

Upon this the Emperor, very well pleased with so successful a beginning, began his journey into the East, during which there happened so great a disagreement amongst the Goths, that it was followed by an open war. Fritigernes, who commanded the Visigoths, having lost the battle which he fought against Athanaricus king of the Ostrogoths, immediately dispatched Ulphilas to the Emperor, to desire aid of him. (*d*) Valens, overjoyed at so favourable an opportunity of succeeding in his designs, no doubt made the best of it. He therefore gave Ulphilas as favourable a reception as he could wish, granted him all he desired, and sent him back with positive orders to the chief officers of his army in Thracia, to march all their forces with Ulphilas beyond the Danube, and there join those of Fritigernes. And when he had parted thus overjoyed, the Emperor so plainly intimated to him that in return for so great service, he expected that they should publicly embrace his Faith and communion, that he no longer doubted of their compliance, because the bishop, whom he had already gained over, and the king would be afraid to incur the displeasure of so powerful a Prince, who could ruin him by doing for his enemy what he had done for him. Nor was he mistaken; for Fritigernes, being backed with so powerful assistance, defeated Athanaricus's army, and to oblige the Emperor, who had aided him so seasonably, he not only persuaded his subjects, who were as yet Pagans, to embrace Christianity, (*e*) but also desired him to send bishops to instruct them in the Faith which they were to

(*d*) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 27. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 37.

(*e*) Oros. lib. 7. c. 32.

follow;

follow; and accordingly Valens sent him the most inveterate Arians that he could meet with. *A.D.* 372.

But however, GOD was pleased in the mean time to reap some fruits from that nation before they were perverted: For Athanasius, who was a Pagan, and vexed to find that his enemy had vanquished him merely by the arms of the Christians, (*f*) vented his fury upon all the Christians that he met with in his territories, where, by his cruelty, a great many of them became martyrs, before the bishops sent by Valens could make them enemies to JESUS CHRIST by their heresy. The truth is, that those bishops having joined with Ulphilas, in a short time infected the Visigoths with Arianism, who, according to the custom of all Northern people, were easily induced to become of the same religion with their Prince. And the two kings having concluded a peace some time after, the Christians that remained amongst the Ostrogoths, following this example, were without difficulty seduced by the industry and management of Ulphilas. For this Prelate, whose virtue and doctrine were had in great veneration by the people, was the first that found out (*g*) the Gothick characters, and translated the Bible into his own language, acquired so great a reputation, that they attended to whatever he said, as spoken by the Apostle of their nation. (*b*) So that those whom he had already made Christians, as well as those whom he was daily converting, imbibed from him the Arian heresy, which he dextrously concealing under fine and specious appearances, they did not in the least suspect but that it was the doctrine of the Gospel in all its purity. So the Goths, who had been unwittingly poisoned with Arianism through the treachery of Ulphilas, whom Valens had corrupted, adhered to it afterwards out of obstinacy, and spread it in streams of blood, wherever they extended their fatal conquests throughout the Empire. What was most deplorable in this case was, that as the plague, when once any are seized by it, spreads itself by infection to most of those who come near the persons so unhappily afflicted, just so the heresy with which the Goths were tainted, not only

(*f*) Hier. in Chron. August. de civ. lib. 18. c. 52.

(*g*) Socr. lib. 4. c. 27.

(*b*) Sozom. 1. 6. c. 37.

A. D. 472. corrupted them, but also by the communication which all Northern nations had with them, it spread among the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundi, and the Lombardi, who had also fixed their Empire in Italy, as well as in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. So infectious is evil in its nature, and so easy is it for error to slide in where truth forces its way with the greatest difficulty ! But as these things will better appear at the time when they were put in execution, we must resume the thread of our history.



T H E



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K VI.



WHILST the Bishops employed by Valens *A. D.*
372. were endeavouring with Ulphilas, in the West, to bring over the Goths to Arianism, the Emperor, for his part, was also busied in spreading his heresy in the East, tho' not with equal success. He had had a proof of it at Antioch, and received more particular instances at Edessa, with no less glory to the Catholicks, than grief and shame to himself. (a) After having driven out of that city Barse, a Catholick bishop, a man remarkable for his holy life, whom he banished to the farther part of Egypt, he caused his bishoprick to be possessed by an Arian, and gave orders to the Prefect Modestus to oblige the people to acknowledge him, and embrace his communion. But when, some

(a) Theod. lib. 4. cap. 15, 16.

A. D. 372. time after, he came himself to Edessa, to see the magnificent church that was there, dedicated to St. Thomas, and which people came from all parts of Asia to visit; he was greatly surprized, as he came near to the city, at the sight of a great number of people who were assembled in the fields to celebrate the divine offices, leaving the Bishop alone by himself in possession of all the churches, which were quite empty. (*b*) Valens was so enraged at this, that being no longer master of himself, he was so far transported as to strike the Prefect, reproaching him with the little care that he had taken to perform his commands; and ordered him to take what soldiers he had then with him, and fall upon the people, if they presumed to assemble the next day, and to make use of rods, sticks, and swords to drive them away, to beat them, and even to massacre without distinction all that he met with.

Modestus, who tho' he was an Arian, and of a cruel disposition, yet had somewhat more humanity than his master, gave secret notice to the chief of the city, advertising them to prevent the people from assembling the next day; for that otherwise he should be forced to put all to the sword that were assembled. But the people of Edessa knowing this, very far from being affrighted at the news, ran early in the morning, with greater numbers, out of the city into the field where they used to assemble to pray. The Prefect being no longer able to dissemble, was forced to set out with his soldiers to execute the Emperor's orders. But a poor woman, by an heroick action, put a sudden stop to this Holofernes, with as much resolution and courage as Judith, tho' in a much gentler manner.

As he was crossing the chief street, this woman, being dressed in a careless manner, and half covered with a veil, holding a little child by the hand, and running as fast as she could, came hastily against a company of soldiers, who were marching before Modestus; and endeavouring to get by, and go before them, she made room for herself by the admiration they were in at her boldness. The Prefect being surprized at it, ordered her to be brought to him; which they had some difficulty to do, because she got pretty forward. When she was in his presence, he asked her whither she was going so hastily: "To the assembly of Catholics, says she,

(*b*) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 14. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 17.

" where

“ where I am afraid I shall come too late.” But know you not, *A. D.*
 “ faith Modestus, that the Prefect will be there presently, to put 372.
 “ to the sword all that he meets with ?” Yes, my Lord, replied
 “ she, with an undaunted air, and it is for that very reason that
 “ I am running, for fear that I should come there last, and so miss
 “ being a martyr by my sloth.” But what, says he, will you do
 “ with that little child, which you drag after you, and which is
 “ dying ?” I am going, replied she, to make a little martyr of
 “ him, and since I am his mother I will not envy him the posses-
 “ sion of the greatest of all benefits, by suffering him to lose an
 “ opportunity of dying with me in defence of the Divinity of
 “ JESUS CHRIST.” The Prefect being surprized at so much
 courage in a woman, and judging from this of the resolution of
 the rest of the city, immediately returned to the Emperor, and
 after relating the matter to him, gave him so plainly to under-
 stand that he would gain nothing but disgrace by such an attempt,
 which would make an horrid noise (c) over the world to no pur-
 pose, that he gave it up, contenting himself with sending some
 of the chief of the clergy into banishment, and amongst the rest,
 Eulogius and Protogenes, two extraordinary good men, whom the
 holy bishop Barse had substituted to govern his people in his ab-
 sence. Thus Edessa triumphed over the Emperor by the genero-
 sity of a woman, who alone by her courage stopt the course of
 that impetuous torrent of rage, which was going to overflow the
 whole city with blood.

The case was not the same in the horrible persecution which
 was carried on at the same time against the Catholicks in Egypt,
 which nothing could stop; for after the death of the great Atha-
 nasius, the people and clergy, by a general consent, had placed
 on the Patriarchal throne Peter, an Alexandrian priest, who had
 always been an inseparable companion of the Patriarch's in his
 undertakings, who, at his death, had likewise appointed him to be
 his successor, and the neighbouring bishops consecrated him with
 the general applause of all the Catholicks. (d) But the Arians,
 tho' their number was but small in Alexandria, could not submit,
 in the reign of an Emperor who openly professed Arianism, and

(c) Theod. 1. 4. c. 16.

(d) Theod. 1. 4. c. 13, 19. Socr. 1. 4. c. 18.

Sozom. 1. 6. c. 18. Socr. c. 17.

A. D. 372. was endeavouring to establish it in his Empire, to lose, after the death of Athanasius, a see which they had been twice in possession of during his life. They applied therefore to Valens, and complained that Athanasius, their inveterate enemy, had resolved to immortalize his hatred and enmity, by appointing himself a successor, in whom he still lived and acted, even after his death, with more haughtiness, and in a more arbitrary manner than ever, in order to triumph at the same time both over religion and over the authority of the Sovereign, as he had done before. Valens, who was already provoked at the opposition which he found in all places, where he endeavoured to appoint bishops of his own party, was highly incensed at this news; and taking a cruel resolution at once, to carry things to an extremity, in order to be obeyed, he wrote to Palladius, governor of Egypt, charging him to depose Peter from his see, and to spare none of those who were in his party; and at the same time sent Euzoïus, his pretended bishop of Antioch, in company with Magnus the chief treasurer, and a body of good troops, with orders to him and to the governor, to place Lucius, chief of the Arians of Alexandria, in the Patriarchal chair, (e) and to molest and banish all who would not acknowledge him, and even persecute with the utmost rigour all those whom the new Patriarch should single out.

Palladius was a Heathen, and besides his being naturally brutish and cruel, he had waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of being revenged on the Christians, for the destruction of Paganism, and of doing all the mischief to them that he possibly could, without seeming to do any thing contrary to his master's service: So that as soon as he had received the first orders of Valens, he thought that he could never find a better opportunity to glut his passion, under the pretence of paying a strict obedience to the Emperor's commands; he therefore mustered up all the soldiers that he had in Alexandria, and having surrounded the church wherein the people were assembled with the new Patriarch, he entered it, taking with him all the Jews and Pagans that he could find, who committed still greater cruelties and abominations than those which were done when Gregory and George took possession of it: For they marched into the church as in triumph, singing

(e) Socr. & Soz. *ibid.*

the praises of their idols, and horridly blaspheming the name of *JESUS CHRIST*; and after having pulled down, trampled under their feet, maimed, and massacred, without any regard, all that came in their way, and profaned all that was holy and sacred, they carried things to such a degree of abomination, that they stripped and ravished, even in the sanctuary, the holy virgins, whereof some, in order to save themselves from the hands of these impious men, threw themselves out of the windows, and others into a well which stood at one end of the church: They moreover caused an infamous fellow, dressed in woman's apparel, and prostituted to the most shameful lewdness, to dance upon the altar, shewing a thousand execrable postures; and put a stage-player stark naked in the pulpit, who preached up with a hellish impudence all the most abominable vices, in opposition to the virtues and maxims of the Gospel. In short, there was nothing so bad, but what these Jews and Pagans, headed by the Arians, committed in their presence, against the Christian religion; so that it never appeared more plainly than upon this occasion, as the experience of all ages has shown, that heresy being nothing but a disguised impiety, it destroys insensibly all notions of religion in men, and reduces them to the state of not having any at all, no, not even that which they once professed.

During this dreadful disorder, the Patriarch having found means to escape, embarked on board a vessel, and, following the example of *St. Athanasius*, his predecessor, he went to Rome in order to implore the assistance of *Damasus* the Bishop, in this horrible persecution. But it still became more furious than before, by the arrival of *Lucius*, (*f*) who came with *Euzoius* and count *Magnus*, which last was a great reprobate, who acknowledging no other deity but Fortune, and having no religion, always professed outwardly that of the Prince who was on the throne, and from whom he had the most to hope or fear. In the reign of *Julian* he was a Heathen, and in order to signalize his hatred to the Christians, he set fire to their magnificent church at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*, which piece of impiety had like to have cost him his life under *Jovian*: But, at the request of his friends, he escaped death with the penalty only of rebuilding it at his own expences.

(*f*) *Theod. l. 4. c. 18. Ep. Petr. ap. Theod. l. 6. c. 20.*

A. D. 372. Affairs taking another turn under the government of Valens, he became an Arian, after which he so far insinuated himself into the favour of that Prince, that he was promoted to one of the greatest employments of the Empire: As he was exceeding proud, and very cruel, behaving in every respect like a tyrant, the Emperor made choice of him to see Lucius acknowledged in Alexandria, where Euzoïus was to instal him in the Patriarchal see, which this wicked priest had obtained of the Emperor, not only by means of his impieties, but even by money. As soon as he came to Alexandria, (g) Palladius and his heathens joined the forces of Magnus, and after many congratulations, they had the impudence to tell Lucius, which he received with an equal assurance, that it was the greatest pleasure imaginable to them to see him elected bishop, since he knew not the GOD of the Christians, by denying the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and that certainly he was a favourite of Seraphis, (this was the deity of the Egyptians) who had brought him into that city. After this horrid compliment offered to a bishop, Euzoïus placed him in the chair of St. Athanasius, and gave him possession of all the churches of Alexandria, charging the people to acknowledge him, and embrace his communion. But as, instead of receiving him, they publicly declared the horror with which he filled them, and left off meeting in the churches; these furious antagonists resolving to push matters to the last extremity, there was no cruelty but what they exercised on all persons of what condition soever, without any distinction of age, sex, or quality.

Lucius, attended by a body of Heathen Satellites, went thro' all the streets of the city, ordering that those who would not obey him should be confined, put to the torture, scourged, and destroyed. Magnus, on the other side, seized the chief of the clergy and principal ministers of the Church, and not being able, by his brutish exhortations, to persuade them to profess Arianism, in imitation of Lucius, he inflicted all imaginable torments on them, in order to overcome their resolution, which nothing could ever conquer; and at last being harrassed himself, and tired with tormenting them to no purpose, he caused them to be put on board a ship, (in which there was no provision but for the sailors who carried them,) being

half dead with hunger, to Heliopolis, a city of Phœnicia, which was inhabited by none but heathens. A.D.
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Palladius, on his part, outdid both Lucius and Magnus in cruelty; for seeing all the city in tears for their being deprived of their ministers, he inhumanly published a decree, whereby it was forbidden to all persons whatsoever, to weep or express the least affliction, and under the pretence that some people had violated his commands, he caused a great number of persons to be apprehended, whom he sent loaded with irons to the mines, after that they had been scourged in a most cruel manner. A deacon whom Damasus had lately sent to Peter, the new Patriarch, was still used with more barbarity than the rest, as likewise twenty-three Anchorets, who on this occasion had left their solitude, in order to come and encourage the people to continue firm and stedfast in the Nicene belief. Many of them even died in tortures, and chiefly some innocent children, whose bodies this inhuman wretch would not suffer to be interred, but, out of an unspeakable barbarity, caused the fathers and mothers to be put to death, who were going to pay that last duty to their children, either in honour to the relicks of those little martyrs of JESUS CHRIST, or by way of easing their own afflictions, and performing so just and natural an office.

Lucius having thus drowned the city in tears and blood, carried his rage throughout all Egypt, where he acted the like cruelties against the Catholicks, and he aimed chiefly at the bishops, believing that the only way to put a flock of sheep in disorder, was to strike at the shepherd; but he could find only eleven of them, the others having made their escape thro' the compassion of the faithful, who had put them in safety. These eleven he delivered up to Magnus, who, after having tormented them in divers barbarous manners, ordered them for banishment to Diocesarea, which was inhabited only by Jews; by which means they were condemned to a perpetual torture, being forced to live amongst the unreconcilable enemies of JESUS CHRIST. Now as all these bishops were chosen from out of those famous monasteries of Thebais, where they had attained to an eminent holiness, under the direction of the great Anthony, Lucius took it into his head that it would be of service to him to attack these solitary men, not doubting, if he could overcome them, as he proposed, by force of arms

A. D. arms and tortures, but that the people, who held them in great
 372. veneration, would follow their example. But in order the better to understand in what manner he made war against them on this occasion, I think it necessary to give some account, in a few words, of those people, what was their beginning, and what kind of government they had at that time there, and how they behaved in their form of living.

It is certain, that from the infancy of the Church there were men who professed a life more severe than that of the generality of Christians, which was not only conformable to the precepts, but even to the councils of the Gospel: And this they did either in societies, in imitation of the first disciples of St. Mark at Alexandria, or in a private manner, in desert places, like the people of whom St. Paul speaketh, (*) who retired to solitudes and caves, distant from the conversation of the world, which was unworthy of their company. But this first way of living not being able to subsist during the heat of persecution, the other increased prodigiously, by the flight of a great number of Christians, who, to avoid the rage of tyrants, and cruelty of torments, retired to the most remote places, where they changed the martyrdom of blood into that of penance. At last, the persecutions being at an end by the overthrow of the tyrants, the mighty wonders which fame had published of the great Anthony, invited crowds of people to him, (b) amongst whom he inspired so considerable a number with the desire of imitating him, that he soon built several monasteries amidst the mountains that lie in the neighbouring country of Thebes in Egypt, where, with the antient solitaries who repaired thither, they all lived in common according to the rules which he prescribed them.

In a short time after, some of his disciples, being moved with the same spirit, built likewise monasteries for both sexes, not only in Egypt, but also throughout the East, and soon took up settlements in Palæstina, (i) Syria, and in all the provinces of Asia minor, in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and even in India, and amongst the Scythians. And St. Athanasius, in the first voyage he made to Rome, having taken along with him the two cele-

(*) Heb. xi.

(b) Athan. in vit. Ant.

(i) Hier. Ep. 7. Paulin.

carm. de red. Nicet.

brated disciples of St. Anthony, Isidorus and Ammonius, that way of living was immediately professed both by men and women; from whence it soon after spread itself throughout the whole West. *A. D.* 372.

(*k*) In the beginning the major part of these solitaries were laymen, as was St. Anthony himself; but after that they were associated in monasteries, many of them took holy orders, and were promoted to priesthood, in order to administer the sacraments to the rest; there were even some of them who led a monastick life, tho' secular priests, (*l*) as St. Basil in the East, Eusebius of Vercelle in Italy, St. Martin amongst the Gauls, and St. Augustin in Africa. St. Athanasius therefore considering that these first monks of Egypt were the most zealous defenders of the Catholick Faith against the Arians, and of the unity of the Church, against the schism of the Meletians, endeavoured, above all things, to chuse out of those monasteries such men as were of a most holy life, and well qualified, in order to make them bishops; and he performed this with so much zeal, that in his time, most of the churches of Egypt were under the care of these monks, as he expresses it in a letter to Dracontius, who would not leave his solitary cloister for a bishoprick, which he offered him, and recommended it by representing, amongst other things, that he might live as austere a life being a bishop, as he could in being a monk. And all Egypt was so well satisfied with this conduct of Athanasius, that it was afterwards followed throughout the East, where the monastick state became a seminary of bishops, as it still continues to this day.

However, tho' St. Anthony had reduced these solitary men into societies, who after this lived in the East, and in the West, according to the rules that were prescribed to them by St. Pacome, St. Basil, St. Benet, and several other holy institutors of different orders, yet there were at all times some of these monks, (*m*) who lived in solitudes and private hermitages, partly under the direction of superiors and abbots of monasteries, of whom they depended, and partly in an independant state, following a life more or less austere, according to the rules which they prescribed to themselves.

(*k*) August. de Mor. Ecc. (*l*) Ambr. ad Vereccl. ep. 82. (*m*) Hier. ep. 22.

A. D. 372. Now as this state of life had taken its birth in Egypt, it chiefly flourished there, and especially at that time, wherein it was still inspired with the zeal of its infancy. (*n*) The solitudes of Thebais, those of Scetis, and of the mountain of Nitria, were planted with monasteries, and you might see a vast desert, beyond Nitria, quite covered with cells, which was the reason of its being called Cellia. In those cells and monasteries it was, that an infinite number of monks and solitaries, who had renounced the world, and the conversation of men, lived a heavenly life upon earth, being continually employed in the exercise of prayer, reading, singing psalms, working with their hands, spiritual conferences, and penance; being watchful, silent, and weeping; and above all, their austerity in fasting, which seemed almost insupportable to nature. Nevertheless, as there is nothing perfect in this world, it happened sometimes that many of these monks were not free from great failings, suffering themselves to be deceived by illusions, or drawn away by pride and vanity, and by a too strong and presumptuous adherence to their own senses. There were even some of them who espoused the party of Melitius, and others who unhappily fell into the errors of Origen, thro' the correspondence which they held with Didymus, who was seduced by the love he bore to that author. Yet they were all very zealous for the defence of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST against the Arians, and most of them proved to be great saints, chiefly the famous disciples of St. Anthony, Isidorus and Ammonius, the two Macarius's, Heraclides, the abbots Paphnutius, Pambo, (*o*) and some others, who had the direction of the monasteries and hermits of Egypt, at the time when the impious Lucius attempted to destroy them.

(*p*) This man therefore, having resolved to bring these monks into his party, in order to draw in the people, who would follow their example, or to exterminate them, by which means he might gain authority thro' terror, after so remarkable an action, put himself at the head of Palladius and Magnus's troops, and marched (as it were in battle) up to the cells and monasteries of the solitaries: But these men being informed of the preparations of war

(*n*) Sozom. lib. 6. c. 29, 30, 31.
(*p*) Sozom. l. 6. c. 19.

(*o*) Ruff. l. 1. c. 3, 4. Pallad. Laus. c. 33.

which

which were making against them in Alexandria, far from endeavouring to make any defence, were preparing themselves with fervent prayers and penance to receive the grace of martyrdom, which they expected with joy, as the glorious reward of the laborious exercises of a monastick life in the service of GOD. It is even reported, that whilst the holy abbots, who directed these solitaries, were disposing them to this last action, and encouraging them to the fight, in expectation of the coming of their persecutors, some people brought a man unto them who had lost the use of all his limbs, to receive the grace of his recovery by the intercession of their prayers; and that the abbots, taking this opportunity to confirm the belief of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, said to the sick man, showing a generous confidence in GOD; *In the name of JESUS CHRIST, whom Lucius persecuteth, arise and go home to thy house*: And at the very instant, the man rose up perfectly recovered, and returned home, declaring in all places that GOD, by restoring him in this manner to his health, had confounded the errors and blasphemies of the Arians. Rufinus, who was then amongst those holy monks, gives us an account of this miraculous operation, which perhaps he might himself have seen; nor is it reasonable to believe, that any one would have the assurance to affirm a falsity, which might so easily be detected, to their eternal shame, by an infinite number of witnesses.

Nevertheless, this extraordinary work of the hand of GOD did not stop the cruelty of Lucius; who, finding that the people were resolved, more than ever, to abhor his communion, over-run (like a fury broken loose) all the monasteries of Thebaides and Nitria, carrying desolation along with him, wherever he went: He seized on several of the solitaries, who expected nothing but martyrdom; many of them were barbarously flead with rods, and some condemned to work in the mines; others were massacred; and those who escaped were dispersed, being forced to fly, for fear of exposing themselves to the danger of being overcome, and submitting to the cruelty of these barbarians.

(g) On this occasion it was that Melania, grand-daughter to Marcellinus the consul, gave remarkable proofs of her virtue. This illustrious Roman lady, having renounced all the grandeur

A. D. 372. of the world, and laid up considerable sums, which were to be distributed in alms, came some time before this into Egypt, with her director Rufinus, in order to visit these pious solitaries, and from thence to pass into Palestina, to visit the holy places there. Seeing this horrid persecution, she resolved to reap some benefit by it, (as she accordingly did,) in performing the most heroick actions; she spared neither labour, money, or any charitable office, to protect those that were so violently persecuted, from the fury of these inhuman men; having assembled them together, she took them into her protection, and maintained them, insomuch that for three days following, she subsisted five thousand of these solitaries, who had hid themselves in divers remote places; and besides this, she went and appeared before the tribunal of Palladius, who was governour, with a resolution to die for the defence of the truth, or to stop the barbarity of this man. Palladius was so astonished at the generous boldness and invincible courage of a lady, whose quality he was yet a stranger to, that as soon as he heard who she was, he shewed her the greatest marks of respect, and not daring to persecute these monks any farther, he left them in peace. So that the victory which she gained over impiety, on this occasion, being complete, would have deserved the most glorious triumph that ever was, had she not, after being victorious on one side, let herself be conquered on the other, in falling, by the neglect of her director, into the heresy of Origen, as several of those persecuted monks had done, who were seduced by the unbelieving Didymus. Therefore, were all the virtues united, to form in a soul the most perfect holiness that could ever be attained to in this world; yet, if we are deficient in one point alone, by following our particular opinion, or adhering blindly to a party, who undertakes to maintain an error, all these virtues are without a soul, and that holiness is nothing but illusion.

However, tho' Lucius discontinued to persecute these solitaries, who were like poor sheep wandering in the deserts, yet he resolved to take their pastors from them, in hopes that during their absence he might find means to break into the flock. So when all things seemed to be a little pacified, he caused these holy and venerable abbots, who were the fathers of such a vast number of monks, to be apprehended by night, and conveyed into an island which was situate in the midst of the lakes of Egypt, and which he knew

to be inhabited only by heathens, (r) in order to deprive these righteous old men of the satisfaction of passing their days freely in the exercise of Christianity: But that which he did with a design to destroy them, proved to be the means which God made use of to re-establish them; for as the little vessel on which they were on board had reached the island, the daughter of the heathen priest, being all at once possessed with a legion of those devils which they worshipped there, she ran out of the temple, her hair flying about her neck, and shrieking in a most horrid manner; then forcing her way thro' the multitude of people who were come from all parts at the noise of so strange an accident, she went and threw herself at the feet of the holy abbots, crying aloud, in a most lamentable accent: "For what reason, O ye servants of the great God, are you come to turn us out of our old habitations? Do you envy our little spot of earth, where we thought to be protected from your insults, and in safety, after being expelled all other parts of the world, by the establishment of the true Religion? Come, we yield the place to you, since we are forced to it: Take peaceable possession of this island, and of these people, which we give up to you." After this speech, the abbots, in the name of CHRIST JESUS, the true son of God, having commanded these devils to come out of the body of the young woman, she was immediately delivered from them: From this the saints took occasion to preach the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, which they so powerfully effected, that all the inhabitants of the island, being persuaded by the wonderful things they heard, after what they had just seen, were converted to Christianity, and pulled down the temple themselves, wherein they had sacrificed to their idols, in order to build a church in the same place, and there offered up sacrifices to the true God. A thing so surprising, which could not be concealed by any art, made so great a noise throughout all Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria, that Lucius, fearing that even his own friends would forsake him, as a man who was at war with a people in favour of whom God declared himself by such great miracles, was obliged to give orders that they might be brought back privately to their monasteries. But the governour, who could not bear that they should triumph so

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A.D. gloriously over him in Egypt, (*s*) ordered them, with above a hundred more, to be sent to Diocefarea, where he had banished the bishops, and where Melania followed them, in order to do them all the offices of a most fervent charity, which she performed even by putting on a servant's habit, the better to attend them.

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The disappointments of Lucius, and the remarkable affronts which were offered to him, did not end here: For soon after he suffered a disgrace much more shocking, from which all the forces of Palladius and of Magnus could not protect him. After the death of the king of the Saracens, who are the Arabians, descended from Ishmael, and who took their name from Sarah the wife of Abraham, to conceal their shameful origine; Mauvia, his queen, who was a princess of great understanding, and of an heroic soul, having broken the alliance which her husband had contracted with the Romans, (*t*) carried on a war against them with great success, both in Palestina and Phœnicia, and in that part of Egypt which lies between the Nile and the Red sea. The governor of Phœnicia had often received great disadvantages in this war; and even Victor, general of the forces in the Levant, who, disregarding that governor, had forbid him to fight, believing that he alone was able to defeat an enemy whom he despised, had just lost a battle, and was very much in danger besides of losing the provinces which lay on the confines of Arabia. Valens, who at that time was in fear of having a dangerous war with the Goths, and who was not willing to have a victorious enemy at his back, sent orders to Victor to treat with the queen, and to procure a peace at any rate. This general, who was an ingenious man, found means to manage this princess so well, by proposing all at once to make a peace, and to take her daughter for his wife, that both were granted to him: But amongst other conditions, which were very easy, she declared that the chief thing she insisted upon was, that one of her subjects, named Moses, should immediately be made bishop, who had embraced a solitary life in Egypt, and whose holiness God had confirmed by extraordinary miracles. However, she required absolutely that this condition should be granted to her, because she had some time before professed the

(*s*) Pallad. in Laus. c. 33.
l. 4. c. 21. Sozom. l. 6. c. 38.

(*t*) Ruff. l. 2. c. 6. Secr. l. 4. c. 29. Theod.

Christian religion, with many of her subjects, who were converted by the encouragement of some pious men of that nation, who lived a monastick life in the solitudes of Egypt. It is even said, that St. Hilarion preached the Gospel to those people, and that having converted a great number of them to Christianity, he began what Moses finished after being made bishop. Valens, who at that time wanted all his forces, readily came into the proposed conditions, and having ratified the treaty, he gave orders that his lieutenants should immediately see Moses conveyed into Alexandria, in order to be consecrated by the Patriarch.

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Being come before Lucius, who was preparing in great ceremony to impose his hands on him, he stopped him suddenly in presence of the people, and using that authority which a holy man may assume when he is to act against the enemies of God, he said to him: "I verily acknowledge that I am unworthy of priesthood, and of the sacred character of a Bishop; yet since I must receive it, in obedience to the decrees of Divine Providence, God forbid that I should be so mean-spirited as to suffer myself to be ordained thro' the imposition of your hands, which never would bring down the Holy Ghost on me." Lucius, surprised at a compliment of this kind, which he did not expect, replied, that it was wrong to judge of him by what his enemies reported of him, that if he would take the trouble only to hear, and learn from himself, what belief he was of, he after that would form a more equitable opinion of him. But Moses, carrying still farther the generosity of his zeal, said to him, without giving him time to explain himself: "Do not vainly endeavour to deceive me by artful speeches. Your hands, which are died with the blood of so many servants of God, whom you have inhumanly massacred, speak more plainly to me than your tongue, to make me understand your belief. The solitaries, deacons, priests, and bishops, who are imprisoned, loaded with irons, condemned to the mines, dead alive, exposed to wild beasts, and thrown into the fire, for confessing the Divinity of CHRIST JESUS, do not all these, by their martyrdom, and by such a bloody effect of your cruelty, declare openly, that you believe quite the contrary? As for my part, I am assured that a man who does act as you have done, is not a Christian, and that we can be much more certain of a man's Faith when we see it in his actions, than

A. D. 372. “than when we hear it in his words.” After this, having sworn by the living GOD that he never would be made a Bishop by the ordination of this impious man, the Emperor’s lieutenants, who had absolute orders to see him ordained, (leaving the wretched Lucius in despair, after so great an affront,) were forced to carry this holy hermit to some of the orthodox bishops, who were banished into the mountains. So that being consecrated in the manner that he approved of, shewing an abhorrence of Arianism, he was put into the hands of queen Mauvia’s ambassadors, who conducted him into their country; and by the blessing which GOD gave to his care and labour, he soon converted his countrymen from their errors of Judaism and Idolatry, to the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, whom they adored in spirit and truth. But what I just mentioned relating to Lucius, did not happen till some time after, when Valens being obliged to carry his arms into Thracia, the persecution was, by his absence, abated in the East.

For during the time that he resided there, (u) it was carried on with so much heat and fury, that the philosopher Themistius, tho’ a Gentile, being moved with compassion to see all the miseries that were barbarously inflicted on the Catholics, wrote an excellent book, which he presented to Valens, endeavouring to persuade him to let them live in peace; and tho’ he seemed something less inhuman after having read this wonderful man’s treatise, for whom he had a great value as well as his predecessors, he nevertheless would not abate any thing of his severity towards the clergy, and especially the monks, whom he continued to persecute with the utmost rigour, even to such a degree, that after having ordered the Prefect of the prætor Modestus to fetch out of the monasteries all those who had retired from the cities, to consecrate themselves to GOD in a solitary life, and after having laid a poll-tax upon them, he made another edict, whereby he ordered (x) that all monks should go to the wars, and that whosoever amongst them would refuse to list themselves as soldiers, should be bastinado’d to death. So that the persecution revived again in a more cruel manner than before, throughout all the monasteries of Thebaides and Nitria, where the tribunes and soldiers forced their way

(u) Sozom. l. 6. c. 36, 37.

(x) Hier. in chron. Oros. l. 7. c. 33.

into the cells, to seize the monks, and murder i. humanly those *A. D.*
who offered to resist their violence.

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This was the deplorable state of the Church in the East, whilst the true religion was flourishing more than ever, under Valentinian, in the West; for, of the small number of Western bishops, who, betraying their honour and conscience, had made themselves perfect Arians, under the government of Constantius, there was none left but the wicked Auxentius, bishop of Milan, who, by his death, which happened at that time, extinguished at last the remains of Arianism. In effect, all the evil which he had done during his life, was soon repaired by St. Ambrose, who, from being governour of Liguria and Milan, (y) was made bishop thereof, by a most extraordinary means, which showed that his election came from God. As those of Auxentius's party occasioned great disorders in the Church, where the clergy and the people were assembled to chuse a bishop, Ambrose going thither to prevent mischief, by his presence and exhortations, a child cried out suddenly, *Ambrose bishop*; and all the people repeating likewise suddenly the same thing with a general voice, as by a divine inspiration, he could not hinder them (whatever resistance he made, or art he used) from placing him on the Episcopal throne, for which God had designed him, in order to purify that great city, which was then the see of the Empire, of all the Arian impiety that still remained in it.

The Emperor Valentinian, without whose consent none of his officers could be received amongst the clergy, (z) was very well pleased to hear that the person whom he had made governour of the province and imperial city, was found to be so righteous a man, that the people would have him for their bishop; he therefore readily assented to that election, which he had left to the free choice of the bishops and of the people; and he himself honoured with his presence, the ceremony of his consecration; which being ended, they say, that he lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, and addressing himself to JESUS CHRIST, cried out with a joyful voice: "I return you thanks, O Lord, Omnipotent God, and Saviour of the world, inasmuch as you have confirmed my

(y) Theod. l. 4. c. 5. (z) Lib. 3. de Ep. & Cler. Cod. Theodor. Paul. in vit. Ambrosi. Theod. l. 4. c. 5.

A. D. 374. " choice by your own, in committing the charge of our souls to
 " that very person whom I had chosen for the governour of my
 " people." He did still more; for some days after the new bishop
 going to see him, in order to represent to him, which he did with
 a respectful freedom, that some of his officers had committed
 abuses against the divine service; that Prince, who was truly a
 perfect Christian and Catholick, said to him: " I know of a long
 " time that you make it your profession to speak freely those
 " things which you think it your duty to represent, without con-
 " cealing them out of fear, or disguising them out of complaisance
 " or flattery. And so far from being prevented by this knowledge
 " to consent to your election, it was that very thing which in-
 " duced me to approve it most heartily, and confirm it with my
 " assent. Therefore make a free use of that liberty for our good.
 " We are the patients, and you the physician; do not indulge our
 " infirmities, but procure a remedy for them, according as the
 " laws of God direct you." Thus the holy bishop received all
 the power which was required of Valentinian, to destroy those
 remains of Arianism that the ungodly Auxentius left behind him,
 which at last were almost entirely rooted up by the diligence of
 so good a man, assisted by the authority of the Emperor.

But this Prince did not live very long after so glorious an
 action. The year following, in the month of November, having
 passed his army over on the other side of the Danube, to go against
 the Quadi, who had violated the peace by the great devastations
 they made in Pannonia, these barbarians, struck with terror at
 his presence, and much more to see the desolations of their coun-
 try, where every thing was put to fire and sword, and not having
 forces to resist him, they sent to beg peace of him, offering to
 serve him on any conditions, if that would satisfy him. But as
 they undertook, tho' in a trembling manner, to offer some excuses,
 (a) which very much displeased the Emperor, he put himself into
 such a passion, upbraiding them with their ingratitude and perfidi-
 ousness, that having broken some of his veins, by the violence
 of the action, he fell half dead into the arms of some of his officers,
 issuing blood out of his mouth, and died some hours after, in a

(a) Ammi. Marc. l. 30. Socr. l. 4. c. 26.

castle of Pannonia called Bergition, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and in the twelfth of his Empire. A. D. 375.

(b) He was one of the most accomplished Princes in the world, in whatever manner we consider him, either by the perfections of his soul, or qualities of his genius. He was of a majestick stature, his body finely shaped, strong, and able to resist the fatigues of the war, which he could bear with the last of his soldiers; the turn and features of his face were beautiful, his hair was fair, and his eyes were blue, but sparkling with a kind of fire that terrified by his looks, which were naturally haughty and threatening. And indeed no Prince was ever so exact and severe in the observance of justice, and in punishing the smallest transgressions, which he never would forgive: And in this point we must own, that he deserved rather to be blamed than praised, for his too great severity, which, we may think, proceeded much more from his melancholy and splenetick temper, than from the love which he professed to justice: Besides, a prince who resigns his title of judge to those officers which he appoints for the bringing of criminals to justice, ought always to reserve to himself the lenity of a father, in order to mitigate, from time to time, by some acts of clemency, that rigour which the judges must continually shew in the observance of the laws.

Nevertheless, tho' he loved money beyond what a Prince ought to do, and that he endeavoured meanly to take advantage of all opportunities to acquire it, even by the forfeiture of unhappy men's estates; yet he always was mindful of assisting the people, and far from increasing the taxes, upon pretence of wars, or exigencies of the state, as his predecessors had done; he lessened those which were established before, tho' he was at war with the barbarians during all the time of his reign; and on this account he acquired the reputation of the greatest of Emperors: For as he was an extraordinary good general, brave, prudent, and skilful, and having experienced officers under him, whom he had trained up in a strict observance of military discipline, as he himself, by his performances, showed them an example; he was very fortunate as to his own part, and likewise in respect to his lieutenants, by which means he often gained considerable victories over the Ger-

(b) Ammi.

E e e

mans,

A. D. 375. mans, Saxons, the Quadi, and Sarmatians, who attempted in his time (tho' without success) to invade the territories of the Empire. In short, he had a genius that was refined, subtil, and adapted to noble arts, which he was exceedingly more skilled in than Princes commonly are. Then he was neat and polite in his table, his dress, equipage, and house, appearing in all things magnificent, yet not profuse; and what gave a great lustre to his distinguished qualities, was his incomparable chastity, which neither the blackest calumny, nor the lightest suspicions, ever endeavoured to stain. And as for what Socrates, (c) and some others after him, wrote concerning his issuing out a decree which made it lawful for a man to have two wives, in order to marry Justina during the life of the Empress Severa, it is a fable, made up of such gross falsities, and so contrary to what the cotemporary historians, and even the heathens, have related of that Christian Emperor, that it does not deserve the trouble which the Ecclesiastical annalist has taken to refute it.

(d) But above all things, he cannot be sufficiently praised for having inviolably continued, to the end, in that Catholick Faith which he so gloriously confessed in the presence of Julian: And in this point I cannot tell how to forgive the strange mistake which one of our (e) historians committed, when he represented Valentinian as an Arian Emperor, contrary to the belief of all writers, and to the commonest informations of history. And what is still more strange is, that, in order to maintain this error, he quotes Sozomenus, (f) who, in the very place which he mentions, says positively at two different times, that Valentinian, in direct opposition to his brother, stood up for the belief of the Council of Nice, and was of the same Faith with St. Athanasius. A blunder of this kind, in so nice a point, certainly deserves this small punishment at least from posterity, to teach historians that they ought to have a little more regard to truth, especially when it concerns Princes, whose memory we cannot dishonour, by imputing false crimes to them, without being in some manner guilty of treason, were it even above a thousand years after their death. It is true, that this Prince finding, at his accession to the Empire, that the state

(c) Soc. l. 4. c. 26. Paul. Diac. Zonar. Niceph. (d) Baron. ad ann. 370. n. 125.
(e) Dupleix Mem. des Gaules, l. 7. c. 13. (f) Sozom. l. 6. c. 12.

of affairs would not admit of his molesting any person upon the point of religion, (g) thought he could not do better than to give all his subjects the liberty of living in that belief which every one professed, as Jovian himself had done before. We acknowledge, (b) that after the death of Severa, he made no difficulty to marry Justina, who was an Arian, and widow to the tyrant Magnentius. Nor do we deny, but that he let himself be deceived by the hypocrisy of Auxentius, who, in order to remain in his bishoprick, (i) protested to him that he was a Catholick : But notwithstanding all this, nobody imagined that there was any room to suspect that he ever had a propensity to Arianism, he who all his life-time professed openly the orthodox belief of Nice, and who, commending with so much zeal and generosity the freedom of St. Ambrose, desired him to use the same on all occasions, whenever he thought fit to admonish either himself or his subjects, or to lead them back into the right way, if ever they should deviate from it, either in respect to their morals, or to their belief.

A. D.
375.

After his death, all the honours that so great an Emperor deserved, were paid to him, and his body was conveyed with that solemnity that was due to him, to the tomb of the great Constantine. After the ceremony was performed, Cerealis, brother to the Empress Justina, having gained over to his interest the chief officers of the army, he presented his nephew Valentinian junior to them, who was but four years old, and caused him in a solemn manner to be proclaimed Emperor, without the participation of Gracian, who had been seven years before associated to the Empire by his father, and was then at Triers. But this Prince's goodness was so great, that far from being any ways displeased, he showed a deal of satisfaction at it, and took a particular care of the young Prince, whom he very willingly received for his Colleague, and reserving only for himself the countries which lie on this side of the Alps, he resigned up to him, or rather to those who were his governours, Italy, Africa, and Sclavonia.

But all this while Valens, who was no longer restrained by the respect which he had for his brother, continued in the East to persecute more cruelly than ever the orthodox clergy, and chiefly

(g) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 1. Sozom. 1. 6. c. 6.
& Sozom. *ibid.*

(b) Zof. lib. 4.

(i) Socr.

A. D. the priests and monks, when God, by a just judgment, punished him in his own crime, and ordered it so, that he fell by the arms of the very people, whom he had unfortunately drawn into Arianism. We must now inform you of the cause, sequel, and all the particulars of so important an affair, and how God, by a wonderful effect of his justice and infinite wisdom, made use of those barbarous Arians to pull down Arianism in the East, at the very time that it was raised to the highest degree of power, and was unmercifully exercising in those parts the cruellest tyranny that ever was known.

376. The Goths having embraced Arianism in the manner we said before, lived in the countries they had conquered, and seemed to be quiet enough, when of a sudden they saw themselves surprised in a furious storm, by the horrid inundation of strange barbarians, who till then were unknown to the Roman Empire, but who soon after made themselves known under the terrible name of Huns. (k) These people inhabited the vast countries which are situate beyond the Dead-lake, between the river Tanais and the Glacial Sea, whereof that part which is on this side of the river is in Europe, and that on the other side is in Asia, as far as mount Caucasus, which is now at this time included in the Empire of Muscovy. So having left their country with a prodigious number of horse, in order to find out new territories, they first attacked the Alani, who are now the little Tartars, and live in the Western parts of Poland: But being repulsed by these people, who were full as fierce as they, and upon their guard, they took their march towards the left, and having passed the river Boristhenes, they invaded Dacia, which was inhabited by the Goths. Athanaricus, who commanded the Ostrogoths in the most Eastern part of that country, being the first whom these barbarians fell upon, lost the battle, with a most horrible slaughter of his people, and was forced to retire to the mountains. The Huns after this victory having over-run the country, soon became masters of it, and were so eager in the pursuit of the Goths, who had not forces enough to resist such a dreadful army of horse, which fell upon them on all sides, that Alaricus and Fritigernes, kings of the Visigoths, and at last after them Athanaricus, with the remainder of his Ostrogoths,

(k) Amm. l. 31. Zosim. l. 4. Hieron. ad Occa.

abandoned their country to these fierce enemies, and passed on the other side of the Danube, after that their bishop Ulphilas, by his art and application, had obtained of Valens some territories for them in Thracia and Mœsia, promising at the same time to defend the limits of the Empire, and to serve on all occasions with as much fidelity as if they were Romans.

A.D.
376.

Here it was that Valens, thro' his imprudence and avarice, committed an irreparable fault, which proved the cause of his ruin, and the just punishment of his impiety : He thought that having the Goths on his side, he had nothing more to fear, that he had forces enough, and that he had no further occasion to raise Roman troops. (*l*) Therefore, instead of the latter, whereof the provinces were obliged to supply him with a certain number, to make recruits, and fill up the legions, he taxed them in a large sum of money, at the rate of eighty crowns for every soldier, and even despised the veteran legions, who had done great service to the Empire ; so that in a short time the troops were very much weakened, and composed of discontented people. After this the Emperor was soon informed that he had disarmed himself, out of a very wrong piece of policy, whilst he was fortifying his enemies against himself in his own country. (*m*) For the Goths being highly provoked because provisions were denied them from all parts, and that Lupicinus and Maximus, who were Valens's lieutenants in Thracia, had reduced them to that extremity out of a sordid avarice, in order to compel them to sell their people, they all assembled themselves together, and having first released their kings, whom Lupicinus, by a base treachery, had seized in an entertainment which he invited them to, they openly behaved like enemies, and made a terrible irruption throughout all Thracia. They even advanced within nine miles of Constantinople, in order to meet Lupicinus, who was marching towards them with the Thracian forces, believing that it would be an easy matter to defeat this multitude of barbarians, who observed no order, and hardly had any arms. But they fell upon him with so much courage and conduct, that they destroyed his whole army ; and after this, having taken the arms of the vanquished, they made themselves masters, not only of the country, but likewise of the towns,

(*l*) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 28.

(*m*) Amm. l. 31. Zosim. l. 4.

A. D. 377. and even were so daring as to besiege the imperial city, which they reduced to great extremities. Yet, fearing that they should weaken themselves by a siege, which might continue a long while, they turned it into a blockade, in order to carry their conquest farther, which they did, in over-running all the neighbouring provinces, even as far as Macedonia and Thessalia.

This news having reached Antioch, where Valens continued still in a cruel manner to persecute the orthodox Christians, it strangely surprized him, by reason that he was already under great difficulties upon another account. The Arabians were entered into Egypt and Palestine, where, after having defeated the Roman forces, commanded by Victor the lieutenant-general in the East, they could find nothing more that was able to resist them; and the Persians, on the other side, had a powerful army, which threatened the Empire. Some provinces were revolted, and all the people in general throughout the East were discontented at the unmerciful persecution which was carried on against the Catholics. But, the mean while, there was a necessity to repair with great speed to Constantinople, in order to bring some relief to the distemper, which grew more violent as it was nearer to the head. For which reason, (*n*) Valens having obliged Victor to make peace with the Saracens of Arabia, in the manner before mentioned, he sent him with proposals of a treaty with the Persians, offering them satisfaction concerning the difference which was between the two Emperors relating to Armenia; (*o*) and in order to pacify all things speedily in the East, and quiet the discontented minds, he put a stop to the persecution, and called the bishops home from their banishment; yet, nevertheless, did not restore them to their bishopricks, which gave an opportunity to Peter to return home to his people of Alexandria; who, taking advantage of the confusion Valens was in, expelled Lucius, and re-instated the lawful pastor in his chair. This being performed, the Emperor, after having likewise had the displeasure to lose the impious (*p*) Euzoïus, Patriarch of the Arians, who died at that same time, departed from Antioch, in order to march with the greatest diligence possible, and all the forces he had mustered up, to the

(*n*) Ammi.

(*p*) Socr. *ibid*.

(*o*) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 28. Hier. in Chron. Oros. l. 7. c. 33.

relief of Constantinople, (q) which the Goths, after having ravaged the provinces, had invested a second time, and were even advanced to the suburbs. Being arrived there at the latter end of March, he found that great city in a great consternation; (r) for Trajan, commander of the foot, whom he had sent before him with one part of the army, having joined a body of men which Ricomerus had brought from Gracian's army, who was preparing to come himself to the assistance of his uncle, was come up with the barbarians, whom he had already repulsed to the foot of mount Hæmus, in the streights whereof he thought he might engage them; and tho' he had fought valiantly till night was far advanced, yet the small number was forced at last to yield to the vast multitude of enemies, and leave them masters of the field by his retreat, with a considerable loss of the bravest men.

A. D.
378.

Valens, finding his affairs in so bad a condition, and all the city in disorder after so fatal an accident, was in a furious passion with Trajan; (s) and even said such injurious things to him as were insupportable to a man of his quality, reproaching him with having let himself be beaten like a heartless coward. But Trajan, who, on all occasions, had showed himself to be a man of great courage, vindicated himself, by replying, with all the generosity of a Christian hero, and yet without losing respect: "I am not the person, Sir, who is defeated; but you yourself it is that forces victory out of our hands, in order to bestow it on the barbarians, in whose party you have caused even God himself to enter, against whom you are continually making war. Victory is every where attending his commands, and certainly declares itself always for those whom God guides invisibly to fight against his enemies. If you still believe that you are not one of them, consider only how many holy bishops you have banished from their churches, and what men those are whom you have put in their places." The Emperor, who was surprized at this free way of speaking, was going to shew his resentment; but Arintheus and Victor, both generals of his army, managed the affair so well, that they pacified him, representing to him in moderate terms, that he ought not to be displeased, if, out of the zeal which people

(q) Socr. l. 4. c. 31, Sozom. l. 6. c. 39.
(r) Theod. l. 4. c. 29.

(s) Socr. ibid. Amm. lib. 31.

A. D. 373. had for his service, they told him freely what they thought concerning an affair of that importance, and that there might be something in what Trajan had just said to him. These representations from two men so necessary at that juncture of time, prevented Valens from offering any violence then to Trajan; but nevertheless, he took his employment from him, which he gave to Sebastian, (†) who was a great general, and whom he had sent for out of Italy, with the consent of his nephew.

In the mean while the army increased, and Valens still kept the troops at Constantinople, whilst the Goths continued their incursions with impunity, and made a horrid ravage even up to the gates of the city. (u) This furiously provoked the people, who could not bear to see themselves thus wretchedly destroyed within and without, (x) both by their friends and by their enemies. They reported, that Valens had brought the barbarians into the heart of the Empire; that he had no more to do, but to bring them into the city, where he himself was besieged with his army; and that not having courage enough to fight them, he had thought it prudent to make a lasting war of it. The dissatisfaction of the people was come to that pitch, that, as he assisted one day at the horse-races, they cried out aloud, in an insulting manner, throughout the ring, "Give us but arms, and we will fight the enemy, whilst you are here diverting yourself in sports." These words pierced his very soul, and made him conceive a strong indignation to the inhabitants of Constantinople; but as it was not a proper time to be revenged of them, he at last marched out of that city on the eleventh of June, with a most glorious army, protesting, that after the war was at an end, he would in such a manner demolish Constantinople, to punish them for their insolence, as likewise for their having received the tyrant Procop at his accession to the Empire, that even the ruins thereof should not be seen; for that he would turn it into an arable land.

There happened a thing which put a period to his rage: For as he was marching out of the city, (y) the holy solitary Isaac, whose hermitage was not very distant from the suburbs, came up to him, crying out in a loud voice: "Where are you going, O Emperor;

(†) Ammian. (u) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 31.

(x) Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 39.

(y) Theod. l. 4. c. 30.

“ you, whom the assistance of God hath abandoned in the war you
 “ have now undertaken? You have armed the Arian impiety
 “ against him, in order to utter endless and execrable blasphemies
 “ against his Son. You have banished from the churches those
 “ holy bishops, who caused his blessed name to be celebrated by
 “ the praises of the faithful; and for this reason God, the just
 “ avenger of crimes, who is jealous of his own glory, hath armed
 “ the barbarians against you, to demand satisfaction for the inju-
 “ ries you have done him. Cease going to war with him, if you
 “ are desirous that he should cease pursuing you with the arms of
 “ those whom he sends against you, in order to punish your de-
 “ sertion. If you are willing that he should grant you victory,
 “ restore those pastors to him, which you have forced away from
 “ his churches. That if, despising these counsels, you pretend to
 “ carry on this war, depending on the strength of your army, I
 “ declare to you that it will be defeated, and that you yourself
 “ will perish miserably with it, without the least hopes of your
 “ ever returning.” And for my part I declare to thee, replied
 Valens haughtily, and with a tone that was intermixed with anger
 and contempt, “ that I shall come back again, in order to punish
 “ thy audaciousness; and that after I have, by my return, dis-
 “ proved thy foolish prediction, I will punish thee for a false pro-
 “ phet, by putting thee to death.” I readily agree to that, replied
 the hermit, without any concern; “ but I am safe enough as to
 “ any danger of your returning.” After he had spoken in this
 manner, he was seized and carried to prison by order of Valens,
 who, rejecting so wholesome an advice, which had been so often
 given to him by persons of a different condition, went and in-
 camped at Melanthias, a little town, where was an imperial pa-
 lace, within a few miles of Constantinople; the Goths, who were
 over-running the country, being then retired beyond Andrinople,
 in order to gather all their forces.

Whilst he continued in this country-seat, reviewing his army,
 which daily multiplied with fresh forces, which repaired to his
 camp, news was brought him, (z) that Gracian, after a signal victo-
 ry which he had gained over the Germans, was coming to his re-
 lief against the Goths, with all the forces of the West. For this

A. D. 378. Prince, being informed of the extremity which Thracia and the imperial city were reduced to, after the defeat of Lupicinus, was making preparations in Gaul to come and join his uncle, who had desired his assistance, whilst he was yet at Antioch; and in order to behave in a manner quite different from that of this Arian Emperor, proposing to have GOD on his side, he desired St. Ambrose (*a*) to send him a small treatise of the belief which he should adhere to. This holy Prelate, who was ready to answer his request, presented to him his two excellent books concerning Faith, wherein, after the fine instructions which he gives him upon that subject, he promises a glorious victory to him, from the very oracle of a prophecy of Ezekiel, (*) which he explains to his advantage against the Goths, as if the Prophet meant them when he speaks of Gog, whose ruin and destruction he foretells will happen, after his coming out of the remotest parts of the North, with a mighty army of horsemen, who had brought desolation into the lands of the people of GOD. He then assures him, that these dreadful calamities of Thracia, and of the Capital city of the Eastern Empire, were the effects of GOD's justice, who punished the impieties of the Arians, by the Arians themselves; and that it was but reasonable that the fidelity which was promised to the Roman Empire, should first be violated by the barbarians, in the same place where, in a sacrilegious manner, that Faith which is due unto GOD, was violated by Arianism: That the cruelties, which were exercised on so many bishops and orthodox Clergymen, and the blood of such a number of martyrs, which was so often shed in the defence of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, had justly called down the vengeance of GOD, to demand the blood of their impious persecutors, with the arms of the Goths, whom they themselves had received in their own defence, not knowing that they were come as ministers of divine justice, in order to execute his judgments against them. After this, addressing himself to JESUS CHRIST, he beseeches him to grant that Gracian may have victory over these fierce enemies, since, that as he fights at the head of a Catholick army, where his holy name, instead of the eagles, is displayed on the standards, he acknowledges him to be the true,

(*a*) Ambros. de Fid. ad Grat. init. lib. 1. & sub fin. l. 2.

(*) Ezek. xxxviii.

omnipotent, and eternal GOD, and abhors the absurd impiety of those who place him in the rank of creatures. A. D. 378.

This prayer and prophecy of the holy bishop's was not in vain, whatever other interpretation contrary to his, might be given to the oracle of the Prophet Ezekiel. For all the honour of this war, and of the deliverance of the Empire, was reserved for Gracian, after that the divine justice had been satisfied in the punishment of the Arian Emperor, in the manner which I shall now relate.

As Gracian was almost ready to depart from Thracia, having before-hand sent the major part of his army into Sclavonia, the Germans, (who were informed thereof by one of their own people, who was of the Emperor's guards) resolving to take advantage of this opportunity, (b) in violation of the peace, passed over the Rhine, which was then frozen, in the month of February, at a place somewhere above Constantia, with an army of more than forty thousand men, and began to ransack the territories of the Empire. But this young Prince, without being at all concerned at this unexpected attempt, having immediately called back his troops, and drawn up with incredible diligence the forces which he had amongst the Gauls, he came and attacked them with so much resolution and conduct, that he totally defeated them, and killed thirty-five thousand of them on the spot. The remainder, who had escaped the battle, and those who were still in the country, having fortified themselves in the mountains, he pursued them with so much vigour and courage, that after several slight combats, they were at last forced humbly to beg for peace and pardon, which he granted them, upon their delivering up to him the bravest of their youth, whom he incorporated among his own troops. After which he punished the traitor who had given the information to his countrymen: Then having left proper orders concerning the safety of the Gauls, he advanced with all imaginable speed towards Pannonia, notwithstanding his being at that time ill of an intermitting fever, having likewise acquainted his uncle with his victory, and his march, in order to join him.

Valens indeed, at this juncture, could not wish for any thing that was of more advantage to him, nor fail getting the victory,

(b) Ammian, lib. 31.

A. D. had he taken the Goths between two powerful armies, as he might
378. very easily have done. But **GOD**, who had decreed his doom, in order to punish him for his impieties, confounded his judgment, and turned all his advantages even to his ruin. This agreeable news, which he ought to have received with joy, gave him more displeasure than a disappointment in his affairs would have done; he was jealous of the success of his nephew, and fancied that his honour would be blasted, if he did not immediately perform some remarkable exploit, which might make as great a noise as his had done. Besides, count Sebastian having defeated some of the enemies horse, who were making incursions on the borders of the Heber, and having filled Andrinople with the booty which he had taken from them; whether this officer had represented the action greater to him than it really was, or that the Emperor was blinded with the strong desire he had to come to a battle; he took it into his head that the enemy were half destroyed; and what helped intirely to deceive him was, that he heard at the same time, that they were retired within fifteen miles of Andrinople, and were going to entrench themselves at Nice, as if they were afraid of an engagement. It even happened that the scouts, who perhaps were in so great a hurry that they had lost their reasoning, or had only discovered one part of the army, brought him word that the enemy, which were making their retreat, were not in number above ten thousand men.

Therefore Valens, who saw himself master of a potent army, not doubting any longer of the victory, raised his camp and advanced, yet nevertheless marched in battle array up to the suburbs of Andrinople, where Ricomer delivered letters to him from Gracian, who was already past Sirmium, and conjured him not to hazard any thing against the barbarians, till such time as he had joined him, which he should do in a few days. Valens having taken this affair into consideration, Victor, who since his return from Persia had been made general of the horse, advised him to wait the arrival of his colleague, who being joined with him, without the least danger might secure the victory, which the enemy might contest with him, were he to engage them alone. All the old officers of the army were likewise of the same opinion: But Sebastian, who commanded the foot, whether he was puffed up with the little success he had lately had against the Goths, or that he had re-
solved

solved before-hand not to be of the same opinion with the old generals, to make himself the more taken notice of in his new employment, insisted boldly upon giving battle, without deliberating one moment, lest the enemy, who were almost defeated by their losses and fears, as well as by their retreat, (which was not very unlike being put to the flight) might have time to recover themselves, and muster up all their forces, which they might do without much difficulty, if they should have the least opportunity left them. All the young officers, who were ambitious of acquiring the reputation of being brave, as likewise the courtiers, who knew how, and were inclined to flatter the Emperor's passion, joined in that opinion, and declared for a battle, saying that it was doing themselves dishonour, and declaring themselves cowards, if they should wait for any other person's coming to gain a victory for them, which they already had in their own hands, if they only dared to conquer. Therefore Valens, being overcome by his ambition, and by the flattery of his friends, or rather, hurried away by divine justice to his ruin, determined to march up directly to the enemy, and to attack them in their very camp, without waiting for Gracian.

On the other part, Fritigernes king of the Goths, seeing himself undone, in case the two armies should join together, concluded that there was an immediate necessity either for peace, or for a battle: And in order to procure the one or the other without loss of time, he acted the part of a refined politician, by which Valens was intirely deceived. He sent a Christian priest to him, as Ammian Marcellinus tells us; and there is a great probability that this was the bishop Ulphilas, the very person who, in order to obtain some assistance from Valens, about six years before, had persuaded the Goths to profess Arianism. Being therefore arrived at the camp near Andrinople, as ambassador from Fritigernes, he was received with civility by the Emperor, to whom he publicly presented letters from his master in behalf of the whole nation, by which he begged, in submissive terms, that he would grant them some territories in Thracia, and flocks of sheep, in order to live peaceably, in cultivating their own lands, promising at the same time, to serve him with as much loyalty as he could expect from his own subjects. After which, the ambassador finding that he was not inclinable to confide a second time in those who had already

A. D. already violated the peace, delivered other letters to him privately, wherein Fritigernes, after many protestations of gratitude, tells him, that he desired nothing so earnestly as the honour of serving him, and subjecting his nation to him, but that it was not in his power; that the Goths, who were naturally brutish, and now become proud of the advantages which they had gained over his lieutenants, as well as that he himself seemed to be in awe of them, would not suffer themselves to be governed; that he therefore intreated him to come forward, since he was at the head of so glorious an army, and assured him that the Goths, who would then be terrified at the name and presence of the Emperor, as likewise at the greatness of the danger which was so near at hand, might easily be brought to reason, and to submit to his pleasure.

There was no need of any other argument to convince the Emperor, who was already prepossessed with his own ambitious notions, that the Goths were in a confusion, and that he ought to fight them without loss of time, in order that he alone might have the honour of a victory, which of course would fall to his share. So, having sent away the ambassador without any answer, he marched on the ninth of August before day, all in a hurry, without order, and even without having supplied the army with necessaries. He had a long way to go, the roads were bad, and the weather excessive hot: In short, he arrived about mid-day in sight of the Goths camp, within twelve miles of Andrinople, which was fortified with their chariots; (c) his soldiers being fatigued and perished with hunger and thirst, having nothing to refresh themselves, were not in a very good condition to fight, especially where the ground was so disadvantageous and uneven, that the officers had a great deal of trouble to draw up the army in battle, and to extend their horse upon the wings. Fritigernes, who was well acquainted with these difficulties, and with the inconveniencies which the Roman army underwent, increased them still more by a stratagem, which proved very successful to him. He sent a deputation to the Emperor, to treat with him relating to the conditions upon which the Goths were to surrender themselves, and in the mean while, he caused great fires to be made in all the neighbouring country; by which means he effected two things,

(c) Socr. lib. 4. cap. 52. Sozom. l. 6. c. 25. Ammian. l. 31.

which

which were very beneficial to him: For in the first place, he gained time for two of his chief officers to join him, Alatheus, and Saffragus, who commanded a considerable body of horse, which he was hourly expecting; and on the other hand, he dispirited the Roman soldiers by so tedious an expectation, during the greatest heat of the day, which was still more insupportable, because of the fires that inflamed the air. Thus, whilst he was amusing Valens, (who, believing that the barbarians were ready to beg their lives, required that they should send him a deputation of some of the chief persons of their nation,) the two generals, whom Fritigernes expected, arrived with the greatest part of the Gothic horse, who instantly formed themselves in battle, to the right and left.

At the same time some troops of horse, who were commanded by Baturius, a Spanish officer, having no longer patience, went up fiercely to the enemy, and began the fight. The barbarians, at this, made a dreadful shout; then Alatheus and Saffragus falling upon these rash men, (who were soon defeated, and in their retreat fell upon their own people,) they pursued their point with so much vigour, and charged the Romans so furiously, with their Goths, mixed with Huns and Scythians, (with which they had increased their army,) that the Roman horse, almost without an engagement, were entirely routed. As for the foot, they fought bravely, and those that were upon the left wing, advanced even into the entrenchments of the chariots. But being abandoned by their horse, the enemy's horse, who was already victorious, came and took them in flank; and the Goths, who were innumerable, falling upon them from all parts without resistance, surrounded them in such a manner, that they could not even make use of their arms for want of ground, so were all cut to pieces, excepting a few, who made their escape by the help of the night, which came on during this bloody slaughter.

Valens, who would not forsake his people, after the flight of the horse, was himself wretchedly abandoned by them. Trajan, who had fought amongst the volunteers, perceiving his distress, cried out, *Save the Emperor*; and Victor and Ricomer, who were endeavouring on all sides to bring him some assistance, could not rally any of the troops. So that this unhappy Prince was forced, with a few of his servants, to conceal himself, and join those who
were

A. D. were running away; and, in short, to put an end to his deplorable
 378. fate, as he was making the best of his way, he was wounded with an arrow by some of those who were pursuing the fugitives, and shooting at random in the obscurity of the night. After this, not being able to go on, his people were obliged to carry him into a little cottage that was near at hand. But he had no sooner reached the house, when a troop of Goths, coming up in order to pillage it, not knowing who was in it, and meeting with some resistance, they immediately set fire to it on all sides. Thus Valens, (*d*) stretched upon an ordinary bed, oppressed with grief for the loss of the battle, and wounded, without the possibility of any relief, was burnt alive, and destroyed with all those who attended him, excepting one of his servants only, who, having thrown himself out of the window half burnt, fell into the hands of the Goths, to whom he related, that Valens was the person whom they had so miserably destroyed in that house. This gave them great concern, seeing themselves deprived of the honour and advantage which they might have received by the taking of so illustrious a prisoner. And he whom they had just taken, having soon made his escape from out of their hands, went directly to Constantinople, where he published this dismal adventure, which did not surprize them, because they expected nothing less. (*e*) For the holy hermit Isaac, who had foretold to Valens, that he should not return from that war, being as it were in extasy, at the very hour, when this accident happened, cried out with a loud voice, in presence of those who were in the prison with him: *At this instant Valens is burning.*

There were many omens of this fatal death; for even the Heathens have observed, that it was become a custom at Antioch, where this Prince was extremely hated (*f*), to say on all occasions, when they complained of his cruelty and violence, *May Valens be burnt alive*; and that hardly any thing was heard about the streets, but the voice of the common criers, who ordered the people, in his name, to supply wood for the fire of the publick baths which he had erected. But to set aside all the other presages, which may perhaps still hold something of the Paganish superstition, and without diving too far into the secret judgments of God,

(*d*) Ammian.(*e*) Niceph. l. ii. c. 50.(*f*) Ammian.

I am apt to believe, that the most certain omen was the impiety of that Prince, which brought so strange a punishment upon him, and which had so often been foretold him, in order to avoid it by a speedy repentance. He had employed both fire and sword, thro' a most horrid cruelty, against the orthodox Christians, and GOD made use of the one and the other to destroy him, by the hands of the very people whom he had unhappily drawn into Arianism. The blood of so many assertors of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, whom he had so barbarously put to death, required that his blood should be shed by the arms of the barbarians, and the very flames which consumed, in the sight of Nicomedia, the eighty martyrs of the clergy of Constantinople, whom he had caused to be burnt in a ship, did light the fire which consumed him, in order to sacrifice him to the justice of a GOD who is the revenger of such abominable cruelties. He had sent his troops in armed bodies into the deserts of Thebaides, to destroy the solitaries, and GOD ordered that a solitary should tell him to his face, that he should lose the finest army that he ever had, and which he thought he was leading to a sure victory.

In effect, his defeat was entire, and his loss terrible. The greatest and bravest men of the Eastern Empire were destroyed on this occasion. The generous Trajan, who had admonished Valens with so much courage, lost his life in endeavouring to save his. Count Sebastian, general of the foot, Valerian, great master of the horse, Equitius, a relation of the Emperor's, and high steward of the imperial palace, with above thirty-five military tribunes, were killed upon the place. Above two thirds of the army were cut to pieces, the remainder being dispersed; and we do not find in history, that there ever was, since the battle of Cannæ, such a bloody slaughter of the Romans. I thought that I might have leave to say something more particular of this overthrow than of the other warlike exploits, which come necessarily into my design, because that it afterwards proved to be the destruction of Arianism in the East, as it was then the punishment of Valens, who was the protector of it. Thus died that Prince, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his Empire.

It is true, that, to do justice to his memory, he had some good qualities, which might have done him honour, had not his bad

A. D. ones eclipsed them ; (*g*) for he naturally loved justice, suffering
 378. no man to rise thro' ambition, in prejudice to merit, and did not even in that point except his own relations, whom he always maintained in a moderate station. He ever was very exact, to see discipline observed in the army, and good order in the cities. He had no mercy on those who enriched themselves with the estates of private people, nor on judges who were guilty of bribery. It was his delight to keep peace in the provinces, which he took as great care of, as of his own house, and would not suffer them to be overcharged with new taxes, nor compelled with too much rigour and severity to pay the old ones ; on the other hand, he made no great appearance, and was moderate in his common behaviour, when nothing ruffled his humour ; and above all things, (which seldom is the virtue of Princes,) he was a true friend.

But these virtues were intermixed with so many vices, that they were, as we may say, smothered with them. He had an insatiable thirst after money, and was desirous of heaping up vast treasures, and in order thereunto, as he was willing to spare the provinces, he used to fall upon the estates of private people, as soon as they were accused of any crime. For he always found means, some way or other, to accuse them of treason, that he might have the confiscation of the criminals, and enrich himself with their estates, and the ruin of their houses. So that it was very dangerous to be rich ; under the government of this Prince great riches were the occasion that the smallest faults always turned to be state-crimes, which he punished, to his own profit, with the loss of peoples lives and estates. He was also very cruel, and as he would not suffer any one to use violence, he exercised it himself on others, on the slightest occasions, either to satisfy his hatred or his avarice : Above all, he was furious to such a degree, that when he was in a passion, which often happened, he neither spared injurious words, nor even blows. He was morose, of a rough and heavy genius, ignorant of polite arts, and of military affairs ; likewise indolent, impatient of labour, and of any application to business, doing all things inconsiderately. He was very timorous and suspicious, giving credit to any informations to the disadvantage of persons, and receiving all manner of calumnies

(*g*) Ammian.

and

and accusations, without distinguishing truth from falsehood. He used to punish the slightest suspicions, with as much rigour as if they were certain crimes. He was imperious, and headstrong; and tho' he was a person of the lowest understanding, he never would suffer the judges, who, on other accounts, were not to be biassed, to give a verdict contrary to his opinion: Besides, his countenance, which had something fierce in it, his black hair, and brown complexion, with his haughty look, (for he could see but with one eye, and had a defect in the other, tho' it could not be discovered, unless you were very near him,) his clumsy shape, ill-formed legs, and a kind of savage and rustick air, which appeared throughout his whole person, answered well enough the imperfections of his soul and genius.

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This is the description of Valens, who, after having received the Empire of JESUS CHRIST, for having believed in him, whilst he was yet but a private soldier; after being made Emperor, let himself be so entirely led away by the persuasions of the Empress Dominica, his wife, who was an Arian, that he became the greatest enemy to the Divinity of the Son of GOD, against whom he declared war so openly, and with so much impiety.

And it appeared plainly on this occasion, that it was only in order to destroy him and his army, (which was, for the most part, composed of Arians,) that JESUS CHRIST, who was resolved to triumph over Arianism by his overthrow, stirred up the Goths, whom he abandoned as soon as he had made use of them for the executing of so signal a punishment. For, after this victory, and the general consternation the Romans were in, for the loss of the imperial forces, and of the Emperor himself, the Goths, instead of making themselves masters of all, were, on the contrary, beaten and repulsed every where, at Andrinople, Perinthus, and Thessalonica, only by the prayers of the holy bishop Ascholius, (*b*) and at last at Constantinople, where a few Saracens, who were sent by queen Mauvia to the assistance of Valens, sallied out of the city in a tumultuous manner with the citizens, and defeated that prodigious army of victorious barbarians, and obliged them to retire in disorder, with a considerable loss. It happened even that Julius, who commanded the forces in the East (*i*) beyond Mons Taurus,

(*b*) Ammian. Ambros. epist. 39. Socr. l. 5. c. 1. Soz. l. 7. c. 1. (*i*) Ammian.

A. D. 378. fearing that the Goths, who were in the provinces, under the Emperor's pay, might take any advantage from the victory of their companions, and make themselves masters, he caused them all to be destroyed in one day, by a general massacre which was made of them throughout all the towns, according to a private order which he had sent to the governors. So that it plainly appeared, that this mighty warlike exploit was not a victory of the Goths over the Empire, but rather the victory of *JESUS CHRIST* over the Arian Emperor.

In the mean while Gracian, who was coming to the relief of his uncle, being informed of the defeat of his army, returned back to Sirmium, in order to muster up a greater number of forces, and put himself in a condition to oppose the barbarians, and stop the course of their victory. And soon after, having received the news of that unfortunate Prince's death, who had left no child behind him, and seeing himself absolute master of the whole Empire of the East, the first thing he proposed was, to remedy the evil which had so justly brought down the vengeance of *GOD* upon Valens, and his army. Therefore he immediately made an edict, whereby he not only called home the Catholick Bishops, (*k*) who had been banished for their Faith, but he likewise ordered, that they should be re-established in their churches, which the Arians had usurped; (*l*) and in order that his commands might be expeditiously obeyed, he sent Sapor, one of his principal officers, to publish his edict throughout the East, with a strict charge to disperse, as so many wild beasts, all the false bishops whom his uncle had appointed in the cities for the promotion of Arianism, and to restore to their sees the lawful Bishops, who were banished; or (in their room) to chuse such governors for the churches, as were of the communion of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, all others being excluded. And by reason that the state of his affairs would not admit that he should pass at once from one extremity to another, he farther decreed, after the example of his father, that all sects should enjoy a liberty of conscience, excepting those of the Manichees, the Photinians, and Eunomeans, who were the most execrable of all the Arians.

(*k*) Socr. l. 5. c. 2. Sozom. l. 7. c. 1. (*l*) Theod. l. 5. c. 1.

Having thus so happily begun his new Empire, by the re-establishment of the true religion, at the beginning of the following year he did two memorable actions, which gloriously convinced the world of his judgment and goodness, and of the greatness of his soul, which was truly heroick. For on the first day of January, he created the celebrated Aufonius consul, who was a native of Gaul, one of the most learned and polite men of the age, and who had been his preceptor. This illustrious consul employed all the (m) energy and force of his genius, both in prose and verse, to return his thanks to his great benefactor; he used the sublimest terms of eloquence that he was master of, in praise of the excellent qualities of this mighty Prince. But all the finest panegyricks that we read with so much pleasure, do not come up to the acknowledgement which Gratian showed, on this occasion, to the person who had given him the first instructions of his youth. This instance of his extraordinary goodness and generosity, far exceeds all that can be said in commendation of the greatness of his soul. And indeed, we may esteem ourselves happy to have seen in our days, a King who deserved the same praise, when he chose the late Lord Perefex, who had the honour of being his preceptor, to be made Archbishop of Paris, and Chancellor of his orders. That choice gave us a proof of the King's magnanimity, who, possessing all those virtues which made the greatest of Emperors, performed likewise naturally the noblest actions, without art or study, and without the imitation of any model. Yet we must own, that if, on this occasion, he designed to acknowledge his gratitude, it was highly backed by the extraordinary merit of this Prelate, who, concurring with the intentions of his master, once his disciple, ever maintained, with an invincible courage, the interest of the Faith and Religion, in order to preserve it in its purity.

The second noble action which Gratian did, six weeks after the first, was this: He considered on one side, the necessity there was for his presence in the West, where his brother Valentinian was not as yet in a condition to act, and on the other hand, the miserable state of the Empire of the East, which the barbarians threatened with a total desolation; therefore he thought it convenient

(m) Aufon. Grat. 28. pro. Conf. Idyll. 8.

A. D. to divide the Empire with some great man, (*n*) who would make
 379. it his interest to defend it as his own right; and accordingly, being then at Sirmium, on the fourteenth day of February, he solemnly associated the great Theodosius with him to the Empire. (*o*) This Prince was a Spaniard, of the highest birth, and descended from the Emperor Trajan. He had signalized himself in the wars by his valour and conduct, and was in so great esteem amongst the soldiers, that they already had judged him worthy of the Empire; but he had retired into Spain about two years before, after the death of the late Theodosius his father, who, after having defeated the tyrant Firmus in Africa, and done great services to the Empire, was killed by the artifice of Valens, upon an occasion which I shall now give a more particular account of, because it shews us the wonderful conduct of Divine Providence, in establishing a truly Catholick Emperor, in the room of a most wicked Arian Prince, in spite of all the endeavours which he used to prevent that succession, which proved the ruin of Arianism.

Whilst Valens was at Antioch in his third consulship in the year 370, several Pagans of distinction, (*p*) with the philosophers, who were in so great reputation under Julian, not being able to bear that the Empire should continue in the hands of the Christians, consulted privately the demons, by the means of conjurations, in order to know the destiny of the Emperor, and who should be his successor; persuading themselves, that the oracle would name a person who should restore the worship of the gods. For this purpose, they made a three-footed stool of laurel (*q*) in imitation of the tripods of Delphos, upon which having laid a basin composed of divers metals, they placed the twenty-four letters of the alphabet round it; then one of these philosophers, who was a magician, being wrapped up in a large mantle, and his head covered, holding in one hand some vervain, and in the other a ring, which hung at the end of a small thread, pronounced some execrable conjurations, in order to invoke the devils; at which the three-footed stool turning round, and the ring moving of itself, and turning from one side to the other over the letters, it caused them to fall

(*n*) Prosper. in Chron. Idat. Socr. l. 5. c. 2. Sozom. l. 7. c. 2. Theod. l. 5. c. 6.
 (*o*) Vict. in Theod. Socr. Sozom. (p) Socr. l. 4. c. 15. Sozom. l. 6. c. 35.
 Ammian. l. 29.

upon the table, and place themselves near each other, whilst the persons who were present set down the like letters in their table-books, till their answer was delivered in heroick verse, which foretold them, that their criminal inquiry would cost them their lives, and that the Furies were waiting for the Emperor at Mimas, where he was to die of a horrid kind of death; after which the enchanted ring turning about again over the letters, in order to express the name of him who should succeed the Emperor, formed first of all these three characters, T.H.E.O. which make the two syllables THE O. then having added a D to form THE OD. the ring stopped, and was not seen to move any more; at which one of the assistants cried out in a transport of joy: "We must not doubt any longer of it, Theodorus is the person whom the gods appoint for our Emperor."

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(r) This Theodorus was a young nobleman of great distinction, who was come from one of the most illustrious and antient families of Gaul, and highly esteemed at court, where he already held the second rank amongst the secretaries of Valens, and who, undoubtedly, was endued with eminent perfections both of body and mind, which rendered him very agreeable; but setting this aside, he was exceedingly given to the superstitions of Idolatry: For which reason the Pagans, and chiefly the Philosophers, were passionately desirous to have him for their Emperor, not doubting in the least, but that they should find in him another Julian. Therefore they had no sooner seen those four letters, which described one half of his name, but they were so blinded with their passion, that, forgetting the disaster which the oracle had just foretold to them, they thought that Theodorus would soon be placed on the throne; and they puffed him up so strangely with this notion, that he scarcely did any thing else but consult with them, (s) what means he should use to bring this affair to pass. (t) But the conspiracy being discovered by one of the accomplices, who was accused of evil practices on some other occasion, Valens ordered them all to be put to death, some by the sword, and others by fire, after having tortured them first, with divers torments, such as iron hooks, scorpions, and leaden weights. But in particular, he abhorred the philosophers, whom he persecuted in a most cruel man-

(r) Ammian.

(s) Zosim.

(t) Ammian. Victor. in Theod.

A.D. 379. ner throughout all Asia, (u) where the præconsul Festus, by the emperor's orders, put immediately to death all those whom he could find (x), inasmuch that people did not dare to wear cloaks, lest they should be mistaken for philosophers by the resemblance of their dress: So that, excepting Themistius only, whose virtue and abhorrence of all magical abominations were well known, there were no more philosophers to be seen. And that cursed race of false sages, who, under the colour of philosophy, exercised the detestable art of infernal magick, particularly from the time of Julian, was almost entirely destroyed, with their magick books, (y) which were strictly enquired after, and publicly burnt in large parcels.

Valens indeed was in the right to punish so horrid a crime, by the means of which, in violation both of divine and human laws men attempted to penetrate into the secrets of futurity; and what, is still more criminal, to enquire into the destiny of princes by such abominable practices. Yet at the same time we cannot deny but that, as he acted much more by the impulse of his passions, than by the dictates of reason, he was guilty of two unpardonable faults which made his memory odious. The one was through his insatiable avarice, and suspicious and cruel disposition, which encouraged all manner of calumny. So that on the slightest informations, that were made by any person who had a design to prejudice his enemy underhand, or upon a meer suspicion, which he would not enquire into, he put to death, or banished an infinite number of rich persons whose estates he immediately seized, without leaving any subsistence for their wives and Children. And there was a lamentable instance of this at Antioch (z), which excited compassion in all the spectators, when ladies of the first distinction, were seen in the streets, leading their small children from door to door, begging for subsistence, and they talked of nothing through the city, but of imprisonments of persons of all ranks and conditions, courtiers, citizens, and country gentlemen, besides those who were tortured, burnt, and put to death in some other manner; which caused the people continually to repeat this imprecation against the emperor: *Misere Valens in infernum astra.*

The other horrid crime which he committed was against the prerogative of God, to whom alone we ought to reserve futurity,

(u) Zosim. (x) Socrus. (y) Ann. (z) Christop. ad. vider. Junior. which

which at all times he doth dispose of with sovereign wisdom. For *A.D.* Valens brutishly imagined that he was obliged to destroy the Successor to the Empire, whom the Devils had described by the four letters, so ignorant and stupid he was as not to consider that no tyrant ever put to death his Successor: Whereupon he made a strict inquiry after all those whose names began by those letters which proved fatal to many persons of quality. For he caused to be executed, thro' a most horrid inhumanity, all those amongst the persons of any distinction, whose names were either Theodorus, Theodolus, Theodotus, or Theodosius; so that many people, fearing that the name which they had received at their coming into the world (*a*), might be the cause of their being sent out of it, they changed it, in order to avoid that danger, under the protection of another name. And his barbarous disposition lasted so long, and made him carry his cruelty so far, as to conceive an aversion to the late Theodosius (*b*), whom he found means to put to death, though he was not upon the territories of his empire even six years after his great exploits in Africa, where he had reduced the tyrant Firmus to such deep despair that he strangled himself (*c*). And this Valens did fearing that Theodosius was the fatal successour whom he dreaded so much; and would have served his son after the same manner, who had already acquired a great reputation by the victories which he had gained over the Sarmati, had he not retired into Spain, where he could easily be protected against his rage.

But, in short, according to the custom of those oracles of the demons, which always bear a sense contrary to that, in which people generally understand them, this wretched prince, remembering the fatal prediction, was careful never to approach that province of Asia, wherein mount Minos is situate, near Erythrea: But after his Death there was a sepulchre found adjacent to the place where he perished, whereon was this inscription in Greek letters, *Here lyeth Mimas, an illustrious Macedonian General* (*d*): And instead of that Theodorus whom the pagans were desirous to have for their emperours, it was the will of God that the demons, without even knowing it, described by the four first letters, the great Theodosius, a catholick emperour who was successour to Valens, and con-

(*a*) Soc. (*b*) Oros. lib. 7. cap. 33. Hieron. in Chron. (*c*) Ambrose in
funere Theodof. Imp. (*d*) Ammian. lib. 31. Zon. ann. 5:

A. D. 379. querour over Arianism. For Gracian, a little time after the death of his uncle, having resolved, and formed a design within himself to chuse a successour to Valence, for the defence of the eastern empire, sent for Theodosius to Sirmium as it were to employ him in the dangerous war in which he was then engaged with the Goths. Here it was, that in presence of the whole army, after having highly extolled the great qualifications of the person whom the soldiers had already thought worthy of the empire, he declared Theodosius Augustus at the age of thirty three Years; (e) with an universal applause; then leaving to him all the east, with a part of his army, he returned immediately with the remainder into Gaul, to defend it against the Germans, who, having again rebelled during his absence, were marching thither with a powerful army.

This being done, Theodosius mustered up all the forces he could find in the neighbourhood and marched into Thracia, where he carried on the war with so much conduct and good fortune, during the summer, that having often defeated the Goths, Huns, and the Alani united together, and at last gained a memorable victory over them, (f) where they lost the greatest part of their army with above four thousand of their chariots, he obliged them to quit Thracia and to retire, part of them beyond the Danube, (g) and the rest towards Dalmatia. After this he went and passed the winter at Thessalonica, whilst Gracian victorious on the other side, by having defeated the Germans was re-establishing the fortune of the empire in the west.

(b) In the mean time Sapor, who had been sent into the east the foregoing year by the emperor Gracian, caused his edict to be put in execution, whereby he restored the orthodox bishops to their seats, and deposed the Arians who were set up by Valens. Meletius whom that Arian prince had banished from Antioch, being returned thither in virtue of the edict, the schism between him and Paulinus, revived again with more warmth than ever. The Paulinists declared openly that they could not suffer a bishop who was ordained by the Arians, as Meletius had been. And the friends of the latter, who were very numerous, and passionate adherers to their pastor, insisted, in opposition to their enemies, that since

(e) Victor, in Theod.

(f) Zosim. l. 4. Idat. Prosper in Chron. Amm. Vi&

(g) Theod. l. 5. cap. 5.

Sozom. l. 7. cap. 4.

(b) Soc. lib. 5: cap. 5. Sozo.

lib. 7. cap. 3.

he was orthodox, and that he professed the same doctrine and communion with Damasus conformably to the terms of the edict, they would uphold him against all other persons. Accordingly, having taken arms in order to repulse the Paulinists in case they should attempt to oppose them, they restored him in a church which stood in the suburbs; and there was a great chance that this affair would have been carried so far as to come to an engagement; for which reason the greatest part of the catholic bishops in Asia, fearing lest this unhappy schism between the orthodox christians might give an opportunity to the Arians of recovering from the surprise and consternation they were in at the sudden change of their fortune, met at Antioch in the month of September, nine months after the death of St. Basil, who died on the first day of that year at Cæsarea in Capadocia. After a long debate concerning this affair, finding there was no probability of one party's yielding to the other, it was at last resolved by the advice of Meletius (*k*) who proposed this expedient, that each of them should govern their people quietly, and in the same Communion, the one in the suburbs, the other in the city, and that the survivor should be sole bishop, (*l*) reuniting thus the two congregations into one church, declaring that no other person should pretend to be chosen in the room of him who should die first: which agreement was sworn to by Flavian and five other priests, who could most reasonably claim a right to that election.

After having thus restored the peace of this illustrious church, the fathers of the council, considering the deplorable condition which most of the eastern churches were reduced to, by the impiety of the Arians, resolved to send some persons from amongst them into the Provinces, to root out the remains of Arianism, and ordain bishops in the towns which the Arians had been masters of, as likewise to repair the corruptions which had been introduced through their detestable Heresy. To this effect, they deputed (*m*) St. Gregory of Nyssa for Palestine, and Arabia, where, notwithstanding the vigilancy of the holy bishop Moses, the Arians, who had intelligences from all parts, had committed considerable disorders. Eusebius of Samosate was sent into Mesopotamia, where he ordained the holy monks, Acatius at Berea, (*n*) Theodotus at

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(*i*) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 3. (*k*) Theod. l. 5. cap. 3. (*l*) Socr. lib. 5. cap. 5. Sozom.
(*m*) Gregor. ad Olimp. Monach. (*n*) Theod. l. 5. cap. 4.

A. D. 379. Hierapolis, Ifidorus at Cyrrha, Eulogius at Edeffa, Protegenes at Carræ, and Maris at Dolichia; a small town prodigiously infected with Arianism. But as Eusebius was entering into Berea in order to ordain this new bishop, an Arian woman, who was seized with despair to see the downfall of her sect, was so violently enraged against this holy bishop, that from the top of her house she flung down a tyle upon his head, which broke his skull, so that in a few days he died; but as he was dying he enjoined his friends to promise him upon oath, not to revenge his death, by taking away the Life of this Arian woman, whom he forgave from the bottom of his Heart.

But that which was of the greatest moment, and gave the most concern to the fathers at Antioch, was the relief which they were obliged to send to the imperial city, where Arianism had held so long its tyrannical government, under so many Arian Patriarchs; and where Demophilus had the greatest sway, in spite of Gracian's edicts, which, not being backed with power, in that large city, were so little regarded that the Arians still continued in possession of all the churches. Therefore having considered which of all the members who composed that holy assembly, was fittest for that purpose, they resolved at last to give that deputation to Meletius whose admirable mildness of temper could prevail on the most obdurate minds, and to Gregory of Nazianze who was a man of an holy life, and had a profound knowledge of divine things: (o) His eloquence likewise was so great, that it rendered him in every respect capable not only of confirming the catholicks, but also of convincing and overcoming the Arians. It is true, that he used all possible means not to be employed in a commission, which he foresaw would occasion great disappointments to him: But at last he found himself obliged to submit to the authority of an whole council, and to follow God who called him to so glorious a field where he was appointed to fight against the most inveterate enemies of his Son JESUS CHRIST.

(p) He therefore received his commission; and whilst Meletius remained in Asia, in order to give directions to the churches of Germanicia, Tarsus, Apamea, and several others where Arianism

(o) Greg. N. Z. Car. de vit. sua. & Orat. adv. Arian.

(p) Theod. l. 5. c. 4.

had introduced vast disorder, Gregory repaired to Constantinople and took up his residence in the house of Nicobulus, who was his friend and relation. As the Arians were in possession of all the temples of the city, the catholicks, who then were in a much smaller number than the others, had no place appointed for publick worship, for which reason he chose a hall in the same house, and turned it into a little church, to which he gave the name of *Anastasia*, or resurrection, because it was in this place that the catholick faith which was almost entirely extinct in Constantinople, began to revive. It hath since been reported, that this name was given to it because that a woman big with child, happening to fall down from out of a high gallery, was killed whilst St. Gregory was preaching, and was instantly brought to life again by the prayers of the whole congregation. But as the holy person who has told us, in many places, the reason why this name was given to this little church, does not mention any thing relating to that accident, I neither will condemn this miracle as false, nor give it to the world as a truth, upon the bare faith of an historian who wrote of it above thirty years after, and hath no other warrant for what he says, but common report. Yet what is most certain is, that this chapel, (r) which was then, as we may say, the cradle of the catholick faith, reviving again at Constantinople, became some time after one of the most illustrious monuments of its victory, when the emperours converted it into a stately and magnificent temple under the same (s) name; and that the holy virgin, in honour of whom it was consecrated to God, rendered it the most celebrated church of the whole city by the wonderful things which she operated in it, for the assistance of the sick and afflicted. And thus we see in our days the great church of our lady of Paris more famous, and more resorted to than ever, by the extraordinary concourse and devotion of people, since it hath pleased God to shew the power of his Mother in her miraculous image from whence have flowed so many wonders and graces so often received by people of all conditions, who will leave to posterity the testimonials of them by the instances of their gratitude, which appear so plainly on all sides round her altar.

(q) Greg. or ad. 150. Ep. in Somn. Anast.
(s) Sozom. *ibid* Socr. l. 4 c. 7.

(r) Sozom. l. 7. c. 5

A. D. 379. It was therefore in this little church, called Anastasia, that St. Gregory began to revive the belief of the divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**, by the catholick assemblies that met there, and by his sermons which were preached with a divine spirit, his eloquence and doctrine being admirable, observing at all times a due medium between the extreams of mildness and severity, which we find in his works, and particularly in his instructions to the fathers of the council of Constantinople, (†) where he tells them that he does not perplex the minds of the Arians with too sharp a style, nor with abusive expressions which rather attack the person than the opinion; neither does he suffer them to become insolent, nor take any advantage of his mild and respectful behaviour. (u) At first the Arians took no manner of notice of him, seeing that he was only a poor unknown Stranger, in an ordinary garb and had nothing about his person that was worthy of being envied. But as soon as they perceived, that, after his first exhortations, the catholicks seemed to be fired with new courage, having so learned and righteous a man at their head: That even several of the Arians themselves went daily in crowds to hear him, and were overcome by the force of wisdom, and by the spirit which spoke through his mouth, that his little church was filled from morning to night, and that his reputation spread it self abroad, as being so incomparable a man that they had no body amongst them whom they could set up to oppose him: then they furiously exclaimed against him, accusing him of blasphemy & impiety, as if he endeavoured to establish a plurality of Gods, by allowing of three hypostases. The people, who were stirred up by Demophilus an Arian patriarch, fell upon him in the street with stones, and dragged him thus like an impious wretch to the tribunal of the magistrate, who were all at the devotion of the Arians. But as he replied in such a manner as no body was able to contradict him, and the judges fearing to incur the displeasure of the emperours, in case they should declare so openly for the Arians, he was dismissed, and returned as it were, in triumph to his church, where the catholicks seeing themselves wonderfully strengthened by a vast number of converts, chose him upon the spot for their bishop, which was confirmed by the approbation of Peter of Alexandria, and by the epistles which he wrote to him wherein he

(†) Orat. ad. sc. Episc.

(u) Gregor. Carm. de vit. sua.

BOOK VI. *The History of ARIANISM.*

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charged him to take upon him the care of that church which he had so happily restored. A. D.
379.

This, no doubt, was a great honour done to this holy man, which nothing but his own merit had procured him. Nevertheless, tho' he did not accept of that dignity just at that time, yet his enemies would not let that opportunity slip without accusing him of being excessively ambitious, because that, contrary to the canons, and forms which were prescribed by the church for those kind of changes, he had possessed three bishopricks, being translated from the see of Sasime to that of Nazianze, and from the latter to the chair of constantinople. What seems strange is, that St. Jerome (*) himself, who at that time was his disciple, and came on purpose from Syria to Constantinople, to hear so wonderful a man, has plainly said with other writers that he had been bishop of Nazianze without enquiring into the truth of an affair wherein he was no wise concerned. (y) Rufinus, and after him Socrates, with several others, have sincerely wrote the same thing, upon common report; and those who came afterwards have not taken much pains to disprove it, because that, as in latter days men have been promoted from a small bishoprick to a more considerable one, much oftner and with less difficulty, than it was usual in the primitive church, so they have been pleased to produce an authority for this change, in the example of so great a Saint.

But I hope it will not be taken amiss, that I should speak my opinion; for though I do not blame those removals which, on particular occasions, may be done for a just cause: Yet I must say for the interest of the truth, to which an historian ought ever to have regard without admitting of any alteration, that there can be no advantage taken from the election of St. Gregory, in favour of those changes. It is true indeed, that even against his own inclination, his friend St. Basil ordain'd him bishop of Sasime which was an insignificant little borough, in the Upper Capadocia: but it is likewise most certain, as he tells us in the history of his life, that he never took possession of it, by reason that Anthynus bishop of Thyana, and metropolitan of the Lower Capadocia, pretended, in opposition to St. Basil, that Sasime belonged to him, which he took

(*) Hieron. de Scrip. Eccl.

(†) Carm. de vit. sue.

(y) Rufin l. 2. c. 9. Soer. l. 5. c. 7.

A. D. 379. possession of, and provided a Pastor for it: so that St. Gregory never officiated there as Bishop, but remained without a Church and retired into a solitude. And when his Father Gregory, who was then Bishop of Nazianze in the lower Cappadocia sent for him out of his retirement, in order to make him his coadjutor, that he might govern that Church in his place, being then very old, and afterwards remain his successor: He declared publicly in the speech which he made to the people at his arrival there, that he only took that charge upon himself in order to assist in the episcopal Functions during the life of his Father, and that after his death he would be at liberty to retire where he thought fit. This he really did, and some time after he (*a*) himself, by his own interest, caused Eulalius to be elected into the episcopal chair. Therefore, having given up *Saime* for the sake of Peace, and refused the Bishoprick of Nazianze, it was with that just reason that he said, when he was placed in the chair of Constantinople (*b*) that he had not abandoned his Wife, nor forsaken his people, as his enemies had falsely given it out, in order to render him odious.

The Catholick Religion was beginning in this manner to set it self up in the Imperial City, against the Arians, whose party was daily weakened by the careful endeavours, and new conquests of this wonderful Bishop, when these happy beginnings were disturbed by the Schism which was introduced into that reviving Church, thro' the extravagant ambition of Maximus, a Cynick Philosopher, who was an Egyptian, and the unsteadiness of Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria. This man had no sooner declared himself in favour of St. Gregory, but he repented for what he had done; and this Philosopher, who was his friend and countryman, pressing him by his frequent solicitations, Peter resolved to revoke the ordination of St. Gregory, which was an undertaking without precedent, in order to place Maximus upon the Patriarchal Throne, in the room of the very person whom he had just promoted to it, as appeared by his letters, and his approbation of the choice which the People and Clergy had newly made. Now to accomplish this design which was undoubtedly very hazardous, Maximus in the first place, went to Milan, where he presented

(*a*) Gregor. Naz. Ep. 42. & 43.

(*b*) Carm. de Episc.

an excellent book to the emperor (c) Gratian, which he had written against the Arians, proposing by that means to gain the Esteem and favour of a Prince whose power was great with Theodosius, whom he had just associated to the Empire. From thence he set out for Constantinople, where he was received with much honour and Hospitality by St. Gregory, (d) who invited him to his own house. This Saint spoke highly in praise of Maximus in publick Assemblies, because this Philosopher, who was a very artful man, had so well played his part, in pretending that he was intirely disingaged from the world, and in setting forth his maxims of Christian Philosophy, that he imposed upon him, and perswaded him, amongst some truths, to believe many falsities which he related to him, and chiefly that he was born of parents who were martyrs, that as he had inherited some part of their blessings, he had been exiled during four years entire, in the dismal solitude of Oasis in Egypt, after having been inhumanly flead with rods by the Arians in the time of the persecution of Lucius.

But all this while this Hypocrite was betraying St. Gregory; and taking advantage of his friendship in order to establissh his own credit, was privately plotting against him, with one of the chief Priests of Constantinople who could not, without much concern, bear to see him in possession of a dignity to which he himself had pretended a Claim. And as the Patrirach of Alexandria had sent to his assistance seven bishops from Egypt to Constantinople, under the pretence of conveying some ships loaded with corn, which belonged to the emperour; this cunning and ambitious cynick found such ready means to corrupt them with money, that, without any other consideration, they resolved to ordain him the first opportunity they could find. And soon after they put this design in execution; for as, at their arrival, they had declared themselves zealous catholicks, rejecting the communion of Demophiles, and adhering to that of S. Gregory, they had free admittance to his Church when they pleased. Therefore one night St. Gregory, who was indisposed, being gone to a little country-house not far from the city, in order to take some proper medecines for his Illness, they entered into the Anastasia, and there, in the presence of a small number of the ordinary people

(c) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Max.

(d) Gregor. Carm. de vit. sua.

A. D. 379. whom they had bribed, they began the ceremonies of the consecration of Maximus. But the clergy, being informed of what was transacting, came immediately to the Church and turned out impious men, without giving them time to perform that sacrilegious ordination, which nevertheless they went and made an end of in the house of a comedian, the fittest place for an enterprise of that kind. This wretched intruder had assurance enough to exercise, for some time, the episcopal functions, till at last the catholicks, being highly provoked at this usurpation, which even the Arians themselves looked upon with horror, they shamefully banished him from the City; after which he resolved to make the best of his way to Thessalonica in hopes, that by the favour of Gratian and Peter of Alexandria, his protector, he might make interest with Theodosius.

A. D. 380. This prince, who had passed the winter at Thessalonica, after the fatigues of the war, falling dangerously ill, resolved to be baptized before his death, which he then thought very near. For in that fourth century the neglect of baptizing was an abuse, which had insensibly crept into the church; and as we see many people who put off their repentance to the time of their death in order to lead a more libertine life, so many in those days used likewise to defer baptism to the last extremity, under pretence that, being regenerated at their death, by that wholesome ablution, they should be purified at that hour, and perfectly disposed to enter into heaven. St. Gregory (*e*) of Nazianze, St. Basil, and his brother Gregory of Nyssa, used all their endeavours in that very century, to abolish this dangerous custom; and St. Ambrose himself, who had observed the same, and was not baptized till they were going to ordain him bishop, expressed so great a concern for his having delayed it so long, that he condemned (*f*) that custom, and used all possible means to root it out, in exclaiming often and severely against such an abuse.

Therefore Theodosius who according to the custom; chiefly of the great men in those days, was then but a Cathecumen, seeing himself in danger, sent for the Holy Ascholius Bishop of Thessalonica in order to be baptized by him. But as he had always worshiped God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons in

(*e*) In Orat. de Bapt.

(*f*) Ser de Sanct. & alib.

unity of Essence, and acknowledged the Son of God consubstantial with the Father according to the Holy Council of Nice, he was afraid of falling into the hands of an Arian Bishop. (g) For which reason he first of all asked him what was his Belief concerning Jesus Christ. Ascholius replied, that all the Churches of Macedonia and Illiria, as likewise those of the west, held up, without any difference, to the Belief which the Apostles preached, and the Holy Council had confirmed, when it declared that the Word was Consubstantial with the Father; that this was the true doctrine of the Church, and the Catholick Belief in which we ought to live and die in order to be saved, and that we ought to detest the errors, and impiety of Arius, whose Heresy had, for so long time, disturbed the whole Empire, from Thracia to the extremities of the East. Theodosius, hearing this, was overjoyed to have so fortunately met a Bishop according to his own heart, so was baptized by him with singular marks of satisfaction, then took a resolution to exterminate Arianism from the Empire, if God should please to restore him to his health. God gave a Blessing to this pious intention of the Emperour, and shewed by a wonderful effect of his baptism, that it was agreeable to him, and that he would make use of him to destroy the declared enemies of his Son Christ Jesus. As soon as he was baptized, his illness decreased, and in a few days he was restored to a perfect health.

The first thing he did after his recovery was, to think on the means of putting that great design in execution, whereby he might intirely destroy Heresy. Therefore he first proposed to begin with Constantinople, where Arianism held its greatest sway, in order that being once expelled from the imperial City, it might not easily find a sanctuary in the provinces. But as he was a man of great prudence, he thought it expedient (before he used power or force, (b) which he would not do till extremity compelled him to it) to begin this work by the publication of some decrees throughout the imperial City, in order to bring that numerous People, by fair means, to the performance of their duty. He therefore made an Edict dated from Theffalonica on the twenty seventh of February, in the same year, wherein he commands all his Subjects throughout his whole Empire, to em-

(g) *Socr. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

(b) *Socr. ibid.*

A. D. 330. brace the religion and doctrine which the (i) holy Roman church had received from the Apostle St. Peter, and was professed by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter Patriarch of Alexandria, holding that all those who, "conformably to the the doctrine of "the Gospel, and of the Apostles, should believe one only Essence and Divinity in the Trinity of the Persons of the Father, "Son, and Holy Ghost, should alone be called Catholicks, and that "whosoever should refuse to submit to this divine belief, should "be deemed senseless Hereticks whom he gave up to divine justice reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of inflicting such "punishments on them as he should judge, according to God, most "proportionable to the enormity of their crime. Maximus at this juncture arrived at Theſſalonica, in order to beg the protection of Theodosius, who was already informed of his unworthy action, and how much he was an opposer, (thro' his more than cynical impudence) to the progress of true religion; therefore being likewise highly incensed against him, by the letters which he had received from Damasus Bishop of Rome; he banished him in a shameful manner, threatening to punish him as he deserved, if he ever had the insolence to begin again, or carry on so detestable an undertaking.

In the mean while this Edict of Theodosius, being published at Constantinople, it gave so great an alarm to the Arians, that it threw them into a most terrible disorder. As the spirit of Heresy will never admit of any master, but such as does intirely submit to it, nor obey any power, unless its laws are conformable to the directions of that very spirit, when it is supported with authority, the Arians had shewn no great regard to Gratian's Edict, who, after the Roman army had been defeated by the Goths, was no-wise in a condition to make the people obey him. But when Theodosius, after his victories, maintained that Edict by another which was still more absolute, and sent his Heralds to publish it in Constantinople: then the Arians, turning their contempt into fury, and confiding in their numbers, and in the strength of a party which they thought too well established to be easily overcome, they treated the Catholicks with the utmost insolence. They even carried their rage to that extremity, that they stoned a

(i) L. 1. c. de Fid. Cath. Sozom.

pious old man (*k*) at mid-day, who, by virtue of the Edict, was just returned from the banishment to which they had condemned him. After this they observed no measures; but on all occasions treated the orthodox Christians in a most injurious and outrageous manner; as it were, to shew the new Emperour what they could do, were they provoked to it, and to intimidate him by the apprehensions of a general insurrection. A.D. 380.

Theodosius hearing this, wisely seemed not to take notice of it, till he had first placed the Fortune of the Empire above the insults of the Barbarians, who had drawn up their forces in the neighbouring provinces of Thracia. But after having defeated them in several engagements, (*l*) and at last granted them a peace, thro' the mediation of Gratian, upon such conditions as were most advantageous to the Empire; as he then had nothing more to fear from abroad, he resolved to employ his victorious arms, if required, in order to make his authority known in so pious and just a cause, and have the satisfaction of offering up to JESUS CHRIST the fruits of all his victories. To this purpose, he marched (*m*) with his whole army to Constantinople, where he made his entry on the fourteenth of November, with all the pomp and magnificence that could attend a triumph, whereof he had justly deserved the honour, by so many victories which he had lately gained over the Barbarians. The Arians, who were astonished at the splendour of his arms and triumph, began to fear the majesty and power of an Emperour who was then present, and against whose Edict they had so brutishly exclaimed, whilst he was yet at Thessalonica. But they recovered a little from their apprehensions, when they found that he received them with the same marks of goodness which he shew'd to the others, without distinguishing them from the (*n*) Catholicks, who really began to be somewhat surpris'd at this behaviour, which they could not comprehend.

But in a little time this Prince made his intentions known to them. For some days after his triumph, as the Catholicks were assembled together with St. Gregory in the Anastasia, the Emperor, attended by the whole court, went thither in state to

(*k*) Gregor. advers. Arian. (*l*) Prosp. in Chron. (*m*) Marcell. Com. in Chron. Idat. Socr. Zoz. l. 4. (*n*) Gregor. Car. de vit.

A.D. assist at the divine mysteries; and after having kindly saluted
 380. St. Gregory, he commended aloud, in the presence of all the people, his generosity and prudence, as likewise his extraordinary and indefatigable zeal for the re-establishment of the true religion in the see of the Empire; Then promised to give him the Government of all the churches of Constantinople, which were at that time in the possession of the Arians. After this he sent word to the false Patriarch Demophiles, that, of two things, he might chuse one, which was either to make a publick profession of the Nicene Creed, with those of his party, (*m*) or to resign up immediately all the churches of Constantinople, which he would restore to the Catholics who had them in their possession under Constantine the great. Demophiles sent answer that he would communicate the Emperor's will to the people; so having called them together, he told them in a proud and seditious manner, that in the first place, being resolved not to subscribe to the decisions of the Nicene council, and on the other hand, not being able to resist the power of the Emperor, he would follow the laws of the gospel, which direct, that if a man be not received in one place he must retire to another; and therefore he would go the next day and preach to them in the fields; whereupon he went out of the city with the wretched Lucius who had been expelled from Alexandria, and, besides, had the displeasure at that time to see Timothy chosen in the place of his brother Peter the Patriarch, who died a few days after the return of Maximus the cynick, whom he had so unfortunately incensed against St. Gregory.

The Arians, who were superior in number to the rest of the inhabitants of the city, having heard their Patriarch, were thunder-struck at this news, and like desperate men ran about the streets in tumults, making horrid exclamations, some of them taking up arms, and flying to the churches, in order to take possession of them; others to the gates of the palace, imploring the clemency of the Emperor, and most of them gathered together in the publick places, crying and lamenting; (*n*) so that the whole city was in as a great a confusion and disorder as if it had been taken by storm. But Theodosius was not at all surpris'd at this emotion of the people, which he had taken

(*m*) Sozom. l. 7. c. 5.(*n*) Greg. Carm. de vit. sua.

proper measures to appease; for, having seized on all the posts throughout the city, and placed a strong guard every where, he sent a part of his troops to make themselves masters of the patriarchal church, and of all the streets leading to it; then he ordered his guards to go and meet St. Gregory, whom they should attend to the church, and see him take possession of it. This was performed with as much order, as if it had been in the manner of a triumph, in the midst of the applauses and acclamations of the whole court, and of all the catholicks of the city; whose number then was very much increased; so that the Arians, who were spectators of this ceremony, had nothing left them to oppose it, but lamentations and fruitless tears.

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380.

Thus Demophiles being expelled, and St. Gregory in possession of the church, the Emperor repaired thither himself, and after having solemnly returned thanks to Almighty God, he ordered that all the churches of Constantinople (o) should be delivered up to the catholicks, which was executed accordingly, forty years after the Arians had possessed them, under the Emperor Constantius. This noted action was performed, twelve days after the triumph of Theodosius, on the twenty sixth of November, being the same day on which St. Peter of Alexandria, who had been the first assertor of the Divinity of Jesus Christ against Arius, suffered martyrdom, seventy years before, under Maximinus. So that we may say that the day of this great man's translation into heaven, was the same on which happened the fall of Arianism in the East. For in short the example and authority of Theodosius, the meekness and humility of St. Gregory, and the heroick action which he did in saving the life of an Arian, who had hid himself in his chamber during his illness with a design to murder him; all this, I say, together with his learned sermons which procured him the surname of Theologues, made so strong an impression on the hearts and minds of the Arians, that they seemed all disposed to submit to the decisions of the Council of Constantinople, which ensued about four or five months after, and put a happy end to this great work.

But before this happened, these wicked hereticks, seeing that force was of no service to them against a warlike and victorious

(o) Sozom. l. 7. c. 5.

A. D. 380. Emperor, they made an attempt, tho' without any probability of success, artfully to gain his favour. For tho' the Arians of Constantinople were deprived of churches, and their number daily decreased, yet nevertheless they used to meet out of the city, and uphold their opinion on all occasions, disputing even in publick with the catholicks. And what seemed more (*p*) dangerous was, that Eunomius, who had been banished from Cyzicus in Helespont, was retired into Bithynia, and had taken up his residence at Calcedonia, over against Constantinople. This man being the wickedest of the whole sect, and one who adhered most to the doctrine of Arius, was likewise, (tho' exceedingly ignorant) a most cunning sophister, and had a great readiness of speech, and the reputation he had acquired of being an eloquent and witty man, invited a great many people to hear him, who daily passed the streights, which part Constantinople from Asia; but particularly at this time, they used to go on purpose to hear his discourses upon the points which were then in dispute. The Arians, who were resolved not to lose an opportunity, which seemed so favourable to them, had their emissaries in all parts, publishing the praise of Eunomius, and saying on every occasion, and in all companies, that no man ever had spoken so well and so eminently of divine things, and of the excellency of our mysteries; that he was the only divine, and only person who could express himself, in the manner he did; and that, after having heard him, people might be assured that they should never hear any thing that came up to him. This report being spread about the city, there was no great difficulty to make it reach the court, where generally people are very curious, and have but little capacity, specially those who take the liberty of judging, of all things according to their own capricious notions, or their private interest. The Arians studied chiefly to insinuate themselves in the favour of persons belonging to the Emperor's household, (*q*) and, particularly, of those who had the honour of being nearest to his person, and were of his bed-chamber. Therefore those men, who were secretly in the Arian party, but very careful not to declare themselves for fear of hurting their fortune, said so many

(*p*) *Sozom.* l. 7. c. 6. *Niceph.* l. 12. c. 9.

(*q*) *Soz.* *ibid.*

fine things to Theodosius in favour of Eunomius, whom they always represented as a very orthodox Christian and as an incomparable man, that he took a fancy to hear him; which was directly what the Arians were desirous of at that juncture, not doubting in the least but that Eunomius would artfully insinuate himself into the good opinion of this Prince, and by that means bring him over to be favourable to them. A. D. 380.

But as the Devil had employed the assistance of Princesses to introduce Arianism into the court of Constantine, and into those of Constantius and Valens, God made use on this occasion of the Empress *Ælia Flaccilla*, (*r*) in order to prevent its creeping into the court of Theodosius by so dangerous a curiosity. This Princess was endued with great virtues, and far from being vain to see herself seated on the throne, she rather felt a greater love for God, and became more humble, as a proof of her gratitude, for so extraordinary a favour. She used to employ her life in the exercise of the most excellent of Christian virtues, and chiefly that of being charitable to the poor. She was continually seen in private houses, or hospitals, administering to the sick with her own hands, the food which she herself had prepared for them; she often washed their linen, and cleaned their dishes, and even did them all the meanest offices which they could expect from their nurses, or their common servants. And when any one represented to her, that those actions were not worthy of an Empress, and that she might shew her piety after another manner, in doing for God such things as were consistent with that majesty, which she ought to preserve at all times: she used to say to them, that it was the Emperor's business to perform those extraordinary actions, for the glory of God, and to distribute those magnificent and bountiful gifts which became so well the majesty of Empire; that, as for her part, she thought it an honour great enough, to offer unto God, in the persons of her poor, the humble labours of her hands, as an acknowledgment for the Empire which he had bestowed on her, But setting this aside, as she was extremely beloved by the Emperor, who highly esteemed her for her virtues, she made use of the power she had over him, on all

(*r*) Theod. 1. 5. c. 8.

A. D. occasions, where she thought it convenient to give him any advice concerning his salvation. And above all things, she continually used to desire him, in his present state of grandeur, not to forget what he once had been: That this was the only way never to be ungrateful towards God, nor to run any hazards in the government of that Empire which he had committed to his care; and that in observing, after this manner, the rules of justice and equity, he would render unto his benefactor that service which he expected from his gratitude.

But what gave a greater lustre to so many virtues, was her wonderful steadfastness in the faith, without which, the most heroic and virtuous actions are nothing but deceitful phantoms and illusions, that procure damnation at a vast expence to those who perform them. For, tho' she had a great deal of wit, yet she never would suffer any one to hold a discourse with her concerning the new questions, which were then in debate amongst the Arians. She would hear of no other doctrine, but that of the faith, (*s*) as it was expounded by the council of Nice, whose decisions she ever did adhere to, and would not endeavour after the knowledge of any thing, but what the church was willing she should know, relating to the divine person of the Son of God, without making any farther inquiry into the consequences, which human reason, weak as it is, would draw from a principle so much above it. Therefore as soon as this Empress was informed of the steps, which the Arians were taking to insinuate things to her husband, in the behalf of Eunomius, and perceived the desire he had to see and hear him preach, she so plainly represented to the Emperor, how much it concerned his salvation and character, not even to hear so impious a man, who was a declared heretick, and how displeasing such a curiosity would be to God, that without much difficulty she dissuaded him from this design.

There happened a particular accident at that time, which intirely strengthened him in the resolution he had taken thro' (*t*) the remonstrances of the Empress. Several bishops were then at Constantinople, who had chosen this opportunity of the triumph of Theodosius, to give him assurances of their duty, and to con-

(*s*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 5.

(*t*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 6.

gratulate him upon his victories and the re-establishment of the faith; but nevertheless they all dreaded the court-intrigues, fearing that Eunomius, by the means of (u) a strong cabal which was working in his favour, should be introduced to the Emperor. Amongst the rest there came the holy Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, in order to pay his court to him; he was a man of great capacity, tho' not much taken notice of in the world, for whom he likewise had but little regard. These Bishops, on this occasion, saluted the Emperor in a ceremonious manner, shewing him all the honour and respect that was due to so great a Prince; then offered the same to his son Arcadius, who was sitting at his side, and whom he had already associated to the Empire, tho' he was as yet but very young. Amphilochius behaved in a quite different manner, thro' a notion of wisdom, to which the worldly men of the age were entire strangers, but it soon appeared, by experience, that he was divinely inspired; For as soon as he came into the presence of Theodosius, he bowed down to him with that profound respect which was owing to his Emperor: But after this he went up to Arcadius without any ceremony, saying to him, *God keep you my child*; and this he said with a smiling countenance, passing his hand gently over his head, and caressing him as he would have done the child of a private citizen. All the persons present were ashamed of this behaviour; and even Theodosius, who was naturally haughty, being offended at it, expressed his indignation, by making a sign to his guards, that they might take aside that old man, who had been guilty of so much unpolicy and indiscretion. This was directly what the holy bishop wished for. For immediately turning towards the Emperor, he said to him with a grave and serious air; "You are offended, my lord, at my not paying to the Prince your son the same honour which is due to you, and which I had already paid to your majesty. Know therefore, by the just resentment which you have now shewn, how much greater must be the indignation of the heavenly Father against those, who deny to honour his Son in the same manner as he himself is honoured? So wise and surprising a speech affected very much Theodosius, who plain-

(u) Sozom. lib. 7. c. 6. Theod. lib. 5. cap. 16. Niceph. lib. 12. cap. 9.

A. D. 380. ly understood; that this holy man was afraid that the wicked Eunomius would contrive to find some admittance to him, thro' the artifice and cabals of the disguised Arians. Therefore, being already resolved, thro' the persuasions of the Empress, to avoid their snares, he took the holy bishop in his arms, and returned thanks for his wholesome admonition; and in order to convince him that he would have a regard to it, he not only declined seeing Eunomius, and forbid his people ever to mention his name more; but also (to prevent him from spreading his poison) he issued out a new Edict, by which he forbid, under severe punishments, the Arians to hold any assemblies, either in the towns or in the country; or even to dispute or talk about opinions, (x) to the prejudice of the catholicks. So that the false Arian Bishops, and amongst the rest Demophilus, being deposed from the seats which they had violently usurped, and not daring to hold any more conferences with those whom they had so long deceived, were at last forced to leave the churches in peace, and retire to their own houses; where they had it no longer in their power to hurt any one but themselves, thro' their obstinacy to persist in an evil, which now they could not communicate to others. Therefore what the Arians had attempted, in order to be restored, having taken so happy a turn against themselves, was the cause of their destruction.

About the same time they were as unsuccessful in the West, where the Empress Justina made a violent attempt in favour of them. This Princess, who was as obstinate in the Arianism, as Flaccilla was steadfast and constant in the faith, was afraid of undertaking any thing openly in the life-time of the Emperor Valentinian her husband. But after his death, having the power in her own hands, during the minority of Valentinian her son, and having nothing to fear on the part of Gratian, a meek and polite Prince, who had a great respect for his mother-in-law, she resolved highly to recommend the Arians on all occasions. And there happened one at that very time, which was of great moment. The bishop of Sirmium being dead, which was a large city where the Emperor used often to reside, in order to oppose the invasions of the Barbarians on that side of the Danube, the Arians who till then had been superiour in power, conjured her not to suffer that a catholick bishop should be chosen in the place of the

(x) Niceph. lib. 12.

deceased, for that it would be the cause of their utter ruin. Justina took this affair so very much at heart, that, in order not to be disappointed in a design the success whereof she had absolutely determined, she herself set out for Sirmium, with a numerous attendance, to see a bishop chosen by the Arians. But she met there a most inflexible man to deal with, who opposed her with so much vigour, that her attempt became fruitless. A. D. 380.

(y) This was St. Ambrose Archbishop of Milan, whose right it was to nominate, and preside at the election of a Bishop for that Church, because that Slavonia, according to the ancient division of the Provinces, being annexed to the Cisalpine Gaul, was under his jurisdiction. When he found that Justina had undertaken that journey, in order to place an Arian heretick on the throne, he likewise set out on purpose to prevent her design, and to forward the election of a catholic, for whose faith he could answer. All possible means were used to intimidate him, and to oblige him to give up an enterprize, which would prove impracticable, against the violence and power of a provoked Empress. But he, despising all those threatnings, continued firm in the resolution, never to suffer the election of an Arian bishop in a church which belonged to him; and God having manifestly declared himself his protector by an extraordinary accident, he at last managed that affair as he pleased, to the confusion of heresy, tho' it was upheld by the power and interest of Justina. For a young lady of distinction, (who was mighty zealous for the Arians) having taken the liberty to ascend the Episcopal throne, (where St. Ambrose was seated in his pontifical robes,) and lay her hands on him, in order to pull him down amongst the women, who, to please the Empress, had formed a plot, to drag him out of the Church; this holy Prelate threatened the young lady with the Judgment of God, telling her, that she had great cause to fear, lest he should avenge that attempt with an exemplary punishment; and she died on that very day. This struck the Arians with so much terror, and particularly Justina, who was prodigiously frightened at the thought of this sudden death; that St. Ambrose, finding no farther opposition, confirmed the election of Anemius a catholic priest, who was very careful in using his

(y) Paulin. in vit. Ambros.

A. D. 381. best endeavours to destroy the remains of Arianism, which could not hold out much longer.

For, as it received a most terrible shock that year, it was entirely overthrown in the year following, by the constant piety of Theodosius, whom God was pleased to reward with the extraordinary blessing of an universal peace, which gave him an opportunity of calling a general Council, in order to condemn and reduce that heresy by an irrevocable decree. He therefore began that happy year with a new Edict, (y) which was more extensive and strong than the two former, by which it was forbid that any place should be allowed to the hereticks for the celebration of their mysteries; or that they should be suffered ever more to meet in assemblies; because he would not give them any opportunity of persisting stubbornly in their folly, by the liberty they would have in the practice of it. He declared, by the same Edict, that it was his absolute will, that all his subjects should keep to the belief of the holy Nicene council, which is the only catholick faith, whereby we are to believe one only indivisible substance in the Trinity. That those who should depart from this belief, should be deemed hereticks, chiefly the Photinians, Arians, and Eunomians, as likewise other monsters of the same kind, whom the world ought so entirely to abhor, that even their very names should not be mentioned. He commanded also that they should be expelled the churches throughout the whole Empire, which were to be restored to the catholick Bishops who held the Nicene belief. This Edict was dated at Constantinople on the tenth day of January under the consulship of Eucherius and Syagrius, which was the beginning of the year of three hundred and eighty one.

The day ensuing this Christian action, Theodosius did another great thing worthy of so generous and politick a prince, which procured him a fine opportunity of submitting, soon after, the whole Gothish nation to his government, without the trouble of drawing a sword.

The peace which he had granted the Goths, had already caused as great a division amongst them, as that which was between them some years before, tho' with a very different success: for, as

(y) *Leg. 6. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.*

at that time Athanaricus, King of the Ostrogoths, had defeated and routed Fritigernes, (z) who commanded the Visigoths; here, on the contrary, Fritigernes, who had already drawn off his nation, in order to make a new irruption in the Empire, suspecting Athanaricus, who was inclined to observe the peace, which they had begged of the Emperor, surprized him suddenly, and put him to the rout, (a) so that he found himself under the necessity of flying to Theodosius, who received him with open arms, and even gave him an invitation to Constantinople, where he arrived on the eleventh day of January, attended by the chief officers of the Ostrogoths. The Emperor having ordered a magnificent entertainment for Athanaricus, (b) went himself some miles out of town to meet him, where he paid him all the honour that the greatest king on earth could hardly expect from a Roman Emperor. But whether it was the grief which his misfortunes occasioned, or the joy he had at that time to see himself received, and treated with so much grandeur and magnificence by the the greatest monarch in the world; whether, I say, either of these had caused a sudden and violent revolution of humours in him, or that a conflict of both these different passions was so strong within his soul, that nature could not resist them, I cannot determine; But be that as it will, this unhappy Prince died four days after his arrival at Constantinople, to the great concern of Theodosius, (c) who was resolved to pay the same honours to his memory, which he had done to his person. As Athanaricus died a pagan, the Emperor caused his funeral to be performed according to the ancient ceremonies of paganism, with the greatest solemnity that was ever seen, yet without intermixing any thing that could offend the christian religion; and after this he gave orders that a monument should be erected for him, which was executed with all the stateliness and majesty that the Roman grandeur could express upon such occasion, and this was done with so great a profuseness, that the Goths could scarcely come to themselves, after the amazement they were in at the sight of so much magnificence.

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(z) Zosim. l. 4.

(a) Idat. Prosper. Marcell. in Chron.

(b) Zosim.

(c) Amm. l. 27. Zof. lib. 4.

A. D. This generous behaviour of Theodosius, produced an effect
 381. which far exceeded all that could reasonably be expected from it. For not only the Ostrogoths who had attended Athanaricus, offered their services to him, and defended the passes of the Danube, but also the Visigoths, (*d*) admiring the greatness of his soul, retracted their resolution, and laid down their arms; so that both sides being reconciled, and reunited by the same dispositions, they gave themselves up soon after to the Emperor, in order to serve him on all occasions as his faithful subjects. This Constantinople, (*e*) which, during the reign of Arianism, saw Athanaricus with his victorious Goths at his Gates, and from its walls could see the whole country set on fire by these fierce enemies, (*f*) had the pleasure now of seeing them subjects to its Empire, and of receiving that same king both living and dying, who was come to surrender himself up, after the expulsion of heresy, in order, as it were, to establish the catholic religion on its throne. And, to compleat the happiness and glory of Theodosius (*g*) by a long series of success and victories, his army, at that very time, defeated the Huns and other Barbarians, who were forced to retire on the other side of the Danube, and were afraid to make any farther attempt. The Persians, (*b*) who had so often got the better of the Romans, and had lately defeated Valens, sent ambassadors to him with considerable presents, in order to demand peace, which he granted them, by a solemn treaty, which they inviolably kept during all the time of his reign.

All things being thus in a flourishing state, and the Empire enjoying a happy peace, Theodosius resolved to make use of so favourable an opportunity to compleat his great work, in the utter ruin of Arianism, by calling a general council. As he acted in concert with Damasus bishop of Rome, who had already wrote to him, (*i*) desiring he would uphold St. Gregory against Maximus; he appointed, with his consent, a general convocation at Constantinople of the orthodox bishops throughout the East, which Damasus himself, after having given his approbation to it, qualified with the title of an Oecumenical council, because that

(*d*) Zosim. Themist. or. 6.
 Prol. l. 1. de Sp. San.
 in Panegy. Theod.

(*e*) Oros. lib. 7. cap. 34. Idat.

(*g*) Zosim. l. 4.

(*f*) Ambros.
 (*b*) Oros. ibid Pacat.
 (*i*) Sex. Syn. Act. 18. Cod. Vatic.

it agreed in doctrine and in points of faith (*k*) with the whole western church. It was composed of one hundred and fifty catholic Bishops, whereof several amongst them, and chiefly Melitius, had suffered very much for JESUS CHRIST during the persecution of Valens. St. Gregory of Nyssa, did not fail to assist there, and brought the books along with him, which he had just wrote against Eunomius. Ascholius of Thessalonica came thither likewise, with others, who were famous for their virtue, as Cyril of Jerusalem, Helladius of Cesarea (*l*) in Capadocia, Pelagius of Laodicea, Diodorus of Tarso, Amphilocheus of Iconium, Gelasius of Cesarea in Palestine, Eulogius of Edessa, Isidorus of Cyr, Terentius of Toms, Martirius of Martianopolis, Otreus of Melitine in Armenia, and Optimus of Antioch in Pisidia. But we must allow, that, as the Empire had been in great disorder under the Government of Valens, there were, amongst those hundred and fifty Prelates, a much smaller number of old and holy Bishops than of young ones, who, being courtiers and worldly men, and having no other views but the raising of their fortune, were always ready to serve the times, and found on all occasions that the belief of the Prince was the best. For, as they were then Catholics under Theodosius, in order to keep their Bishopricks, they had been Arians under Valens, in order to obtain them, tho' several of them had a great many bad qualities, and were of a life and profession which rendered them unfit to be Bishops. (*m*) St. Gregory of Nazianze, who was at the head of that council, complains very much of this disorder, and in such terms as would indeed seem too severe in our time, tho' they were even employed against Bishops of as vicious a disposition. Nevertheless this did not prevent him from believing (as we do) that the Holy Ghost spoke by their mouth, when they decided any matters of faith, by reason that they were seated in the ecclesiastical chair, by the union they were in with Damasus bishop of Rome, who was their head, as they express themselves in their synodical letters. And there is nothing more plain than this, to convince us that we ought to judge of the authority of a council

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(*k*) Epist. Syn. ad Dam Phot. lib. de Syn. (*l*) Socr. lib. 5. cap. 8.
Theod. l. 5. c. 8. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 9. (*m*) Car. de vit. su. & alib. Car.
de vitæ differ. Car. de Episcop.

A.D. by this union, and not by the quality of the Persons. The
 381. Emperor, who was of opinion that he could easily bring over the author of the heresy of Macedonius, who were then at variance with the Arians, invited them to it, and ordered the affair so that they were admitted to the number of thirty six, whereof the chief persons were Elenus of Ciscus, who was newly become a heretick, and Martianus of Lamplacus. (n) But as they had been so insolent as to protest, that they would sooner declare themselves altogether Arians, than hold the consubstantiality of the Word, (for they were all Semi-arians) they were turned out of the Council, and deprived of their Bishopricks.

All these Bishops being arrived at Constantinople in the beginning of May, (o) excepting those of Egypt, for whom it was thought fit not to wait any longer; the Emperor gave them an honourable reception in his palace, but shew'd particular marks of distinction to the divine Meletius, (p) who had no sooner entered the hall but he singled him out from all the rest, and knew him to be that venerable Bishop, whom (some days before his accession to the Empire,) he had seen in a dream, presenting the purple Robes to him with one hand, and putting a crown on his head with the other. He then conjured them to labour heartily for the peace of the Church, and the re-establishment of the true faith, promising that their decrees should be inviolably observed throughout the Empire; upon which the Fathers began their assemblies. The first thing they did was to secure a bishop for the Imperial City. Maximus, (notwithstanding the monstrous manner in which he was ordained,) still pretended that this see belonged to him; and on the other hand it was plainly observed that St. Gregory, who (q) already endeavoured to decline that office, did not think the choice of the people, who required him for their bishop, sufficient enough to make his election canonical; and that, as it was done against his will, he was no wise bound to the care of that church. (r) Therefore the council, having examined into this affair, declared that Maximus neither was, nor ever had been bishop, and that all the ordinations which he had made were void; and besides, as he had fallen into the Heresy of Apol-

(n) Sec. 1. 5. c. 3. Soz. 1. 7. c. 7. (o) Socr. Theod. 1. 5. cap. 6. & 7. (q) Gregor. Naz. Car. de vit. (r) Conc. Const. Soz. 1. 7. c. 9.

linarius, he was excommunicated in a solemn manner. (s) This being done, the council by a general assent, confirmed the election of St. Gregory, and having urged him to give his consent to it, (t) notwithstanding all his resistance, they seated him in great ceremony on the pontifical throne, where, till then, he always refused to take his place. A. D. 381.

The church of Constantinople being thus pacified, the council began to treat upon some points of faith; (u) and, after having read the belief of the Western church, which Damasus bishop of Rome had sent eight years before, to Paulinus of Antioch, they condemned with one voice the heresy of Macedonius, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; and they declared that he was not the servant (according to the blasphemous words of that impious man) but was the Lord and vivifying Master, whom we ought to worship and glorify, equally with the Father and Son, in unity of Essence. Then they produced and confirmed, without opposition, the symbol of the holy Nicene council, according to which they condemned all the sects of Arianism, which, in the variety of their opinions, agreed all in denying the consubstantiality of the word. (x) But as that Creed mentioned only one word concerning the Holy Ghost, whose Divinity had not till then, been disputed, they added to it, by way of explanation, what had been decided, relating to that adorable person, against the heresy of Macedonius, after the same manner that the Nicene council had added the word *Consubstantial* to the Creed of the Apostles, in order to explain, in a more clear manner, the Divinity of the Word, disputed by the Arians. So for the like reason, when the Priscillianists, amongst their other errors, confounded the person of the Holy Ghost with the Persons of the Father and Son, the Bishops of Spain assembled at Toledo and in Galicia, by the authority of St. Leon, in order to destroy this heresy, added to the Creed of Constantinople sixty six years afterward, these words, *who proceedeth from the Father and the Son*, taken from the Epistle (y) of St. Leon, conformably to scripture and tradition; which the churches of Spain, and afterwards those of Gaul have retained ever since, and in their

(s) Theod. l. 5. c. 8. (t) Gregor. Car. de vit. sua. (u) Conc. Const. c. 5.

(x) Epist. Syn. Conc. Const. Theod. l. 5. c. 9. (y) S. Leo. Ep. 93.

A. D. divine mysteries they sing that Creed, with this new addition.
 381. For as to the church of Rome, it kept up for many ages the use of the Apostles Creed (*z*) in its holy ceremonies; and at last, at the request of the Emperor Henry the second, Benedictus VIII. bishop of Rome ordered that the people should use the Creed of Constantinople, with that addition, least those who might make
 1014 use of it, should be scandalized, (*a*) because the church of Rome (not to change its ancient customs) did not, in its sacred mysteries, profess a doctrine which the great St. Leon had committed to the Bishops of Spain, in order to distinguish the catholics from the hereticks; and from that time it has conformably been sung in all the Latin churches.

After having thus confirmed the Nicene faith, and more distinctly established the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, against the Arian and Macedonian hereticks, and having made some ordinances concerning ecclesiastical discipline; all the Bishops who were present at that council, and who, notwithstanding the difference of their morals and inclinations, were all perfectly well agreed together, subscribed to those decisions; and we may say, that, at that very instant, they were concluded with respect to the Holy Ghost. But there happened an incident which obliged that council to sit some time longer, and was afterwards the cause of a great deal of disorder, which certainly that Holy Spirit had no manner of share in. Meletius, one of the two Patriarchs of Antioch, falling sick during the council, died soon after he had subscribed to it. And after his death they paid him all the honour that was due to the memory of so great a man, who in his lifetime had made a considerable figure in the church, and suffered cruel persecutions for the defence of the faith against the Arians under the Empire of Constantius, and that of Valens. Theodosius, who thought himself indebted to him for the Empire, caused his body to be transported with great solemnity to Antioch; where it was deposited near the tomb of (*b*) the illustrious martyr St. Babylas. It is true that, according to the agreement which was solemnly made in that city about two years before, even by the advice of Meletius, who had proposed this expedient himself, it was

(*z*) *Russ. in. expof. Syn.* (*a*) *Berno Abb. Augi. de reb. ad mif. Spec.*
 (*b*) *Sozom. l. 7. c. 10.*

resolved that Paulinus, who survived him, should remain the only Patriarch, and that no other successor to the deceased should be thought on, as it was even agreed to by oath. But the major part of the Eastern Bishops could not bear to see a Patriarch at Antioch who had been ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari, and was supported by the Bishops of the West. They put it upon the footing of a point of honour, and were of opinion that it was a shame to suffer that any other person, besides themselves, should attempt to consecrate a bishop in the Eastern church. Whereupon they resolved to proceed to the election (c) of a Patriarch in the room of Meletius, tho', at the hour of his death, he had used all the moving expressions possible to persuade them to live in peace.

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St. Gregory could not submit to this resolution, which was not only so evidently offensive to honour and truth: but would likewise involve the church of Antioch again into so deplorable a schism. He therefore used all his endeavours to oppose it; and, in order to comply nevertheless with the weakness of those men, who always made the preservation of their privileges the pretence of their debate, he represented to them, in a very artful and condescending manner, " That Paulinus being a very old man, " worn out with labour, and approaching near his end, he was " of opinion that he ought to be left sole possessor of that church " for the small number of days he had to live. That this affair " fair no wise concerned the loss of their privilege, but was only " a suspension of it for a short time. That after the decease of " that good old man, who could not hold it out long, they would " be intirely at liberty to nominate such person to succeed him; " as should be most agreeable to them; that, by these means, they " would please the churches of the East and West, and prevent " a schism, by admitting Paulinus to remain sole bishop, according " to the agreement that was made, and that they would maintain their rights and privileges, in giving him a successor after " his death. Nothing could be more just and reasonable than this advice; but, far from being complied with by these young Bishops, who had a majority in the council, it made them to conceive so great an aversion to St Gregory, whom they looked upon

(c) Gregor. Naz. Car. de vit. sua.

A. D. 381. as an adherent to the interest of the Western church, that they could no longer endure him. They after this held great debates, and carried things in such a violent manner, to strengthen the resolution which they had taken, that they even brought over to their interest a number of the old Bishops, who would not oppose this torrent for fear of causing a more general schism. So that St. Gregory, who protested openly that he would sooner die a thousands deaths, than agree to so great a piece of injustice, having withdrawn himself from the synod, and even from the Episcopal palace, they chose, for successor to Meletius. Flavian, a priest of Antioch, who readily accepted of the same, tho' he was one of the six priests who had subscribed to the former agreement, and taken an oath that they never would consent to be chosen successor to either of the two Patriarchs that should die first. In this manner the schism revived again in Antioch, between Paulinus and Flavian, who being both extremely zealous for the catholic faith, and agreeing together in all other points, gave no opportunity to the Arians of taking any advantage of it, nor of reinstating themselves in a city, where they had formerly held so great a sway.

In the mean time the dissensions in the council of Constantinople increased very much, by the arrival of Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria. He had brought in company with him several Bishops of Egypt and Macedonia, who were, like him, in the interest of Paulinus, whom Peter and Athanasius his predecessors had always favoured, at the example of Damasus bishop of Rome. Therefore these bishops being dissatisfied at their having chosen Flavian with so much disorder and precipitation, and at their not waiting for their arrival, resolved to revoke what they had done concerning the election of St. Gregory. It was not only that they owed any ill will to this great man; for they really esteemed him, nor was it that they had a design, to put any other person in his place; but their only motive was to perplex those young Eastern Bishops with whom they were displeased, as they themselves sincerely explained their true sentiments to St. Gregory; (d) and for this reason they publicly declared that his confirmation could not lawfully be performed, without the Pat-

(d) *Carm. de vit. sua.*

riarch of Alexandria, who, being at that time the first in dignity in the East, pretended that it was his right to see it done. The Eastern bishops, on one account, were pleased to have so favourable an opportunity of deposing St. Gregory with whom they were discontented: but, on the other hand, as it was shameful to them to yield in so nice a point, they found themselves obliged out of decency, to maintain their proceedings. So that by a strange effect of the capriciousness of mankind, those who were against St. Gregory stood up strenuously for him, only because they were ashamed to submit; and those who had no dislike to him, but were willing he should continue on the Episcopal throne, were notwithstanding endeavouring to pull him down, for no reason but because, on some other account, they were dissatisfied with those who had placed him on it. So imperiously does a blind passion exercise its tyranny over the minds of men, when once it has a full possession of it, that it induces them not only to act contrary to honour, conscience, and reason, but even sometimes against their own inclinations.

St. Gregory, who was a man of penetration, soon discovered the secret intentions of these two parties, and foresaw that this contest would never be brought to conclusion, unless he removed the cause, by putting an end to the two passions which induced them to behave in this manner. Therefore having taken a resolution in himself, for the sake of peace, and for his own private satisfaction, he said to the fathers assembled in a full synod: "That
 " it was in vain for those two contending parties to dispute with
 " so much warmth upon a point, which he would decide in a
 " moment. That he desired them to permit him to return into
 " his solitude, by resigning up his Bishoprick, which he did at
 " that very instant in their presence. That, as he was the sub-
 " ject of their dissention, and the cause (tho' innocent) of the
 " storm which disturbed the peace of the church by so cruel a
 " division, in order to put an end to it, and save the vessel of his
 " church from shipwreck, he would cast himself into the sea; but
 " in so doing would meet with a more happy fate than Jonas; for,
 " instead of falling into the jaws of a monster, he would find
 " that blessed tranquility which he had so long wished for. That
 " he only conjured them (as he was going to remove the cause of
 their

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A. D. “ their division) to be intirely reunited in one and the same spirit,
 381. “ and to act unanimously in what ever was wanting towards the
 “ happy destruction of Arianism.

This discourse was an agreeable surprise to both parties, who readily agreed, without much ceremony, to St. Gregory's request, because that, by this means, one side and the other found themselves extricated out of a great difficulty, and at the same time obtained what they desired. For the Eastern Bishops by this were delivered of St. Gregory, without having the disgrace of yielding to the Egyptians; and the latter were pleased to see that the person, who had been ordained Bishop of Constantinople, without the authority of their Patriarch, should be deprived of his bishoprick. So both parties having thus freely consented to receive the resignation of St. Gregory, which the Emperor did not agree to without much difficulty, he made another speech in his Cathedral church, the hundred and fifty Bishops being present, as likewise a prodigious crowd of people; and, in this last excellent discourse, he gave an account of all that he had done and suffered during three years, (*e*) to restore the church of Constantinople (which was on the brink of being destroyed by the Arians) to the flourishing condition it then was in, by almost the total reduction of those who were enemies to the catholick faith. And he added the following words with a kind of ironical air, which nevertheless shewed more compassion than spleen, “ That, as he
 “ had no other capacity but that of teaching, and preaching,
 “ and convincing the Arians, he was very sensible, that in any
 “ other respect, he was not well enough acquainted with the ways
 “ of the world, to be the bishop of the imperial city; that he had
 “ not any wise the air of a courtier; that he was unpolished,
 “ ill dressed, his house poorly furnished, without any attendants,
 “ coaches, or litters, when he appeared in publick; and no foot-
 “ men to walk before him, in order to oblige the people to make
 “ way in the streets, as if it were some savage wild beast a pas-
 “ sing, or by the noise of a numerous and stately retinue, to give
 “ notice to those who were yet at a distance, that the Patriarch
 “ was near at hand. That the art of supporting so great a dignity,
 “ was intirely unknown to him; that he could not contend for

(*e*) Greg. Naz. Orat. ad. 150.

“ magnificence

“ magnificence with the consuls and prætors, and other great *A. D.*
 “ men of the Empire, who gloried in the immense riches which 381.
 “ they possessed, and that he had never learnt to lay out the
 “ patrimony of JESUS CHRIST, and of his poor, in the luxury
 “ and vanity of a splendid and elegant table.

In short, after having intreated the Bishops to make choice of a person who could worthily fulfil the duties of so great an employment, he took leave of the whole audience in so pathetick a manner, and withal so majestically, displaying all the force of his eloquence, that, instead of those applauses which he used always to receive at his other orations, nothing was heard at the conclusion of this discourse, but sighs, lamentations and complaints, attended with the mournful cries of the people, who were expressing their extraordinary sorrow for the loss of their Pastor. And in this manner St. Gregory, who had subdued Arianism, departed from Constantinople after so many glorious toils, with the satisfaction of carrying no other reward with him into his retirement, but that which JESUS CHRIST had promised to his soldiers, I mean, the persecutions and ingratitude of men. So that whoever proposes, after the example of this great man, to be employed in the service of the church against heresies, must likewise learn, from his fate, not to expect any crown, but that which they are to receive from the hands of JESUS CHRIST, in the defence of whom they fight. •

But the most deplorable thing was, that, after St. Gregory was gone, and that most of the pious men were likewise departed from Constantinople, unwilling to see his place supplied by any other, (g) they chose, for his successor, Nectarius, a worldly man, who certainly was no wise like him, and who afterwards proved a very unfit person to maintain the dignity of so great an employment as that was in those days. He was indeed a man of good principle, and of an illustrious family of Tarfa in Cilicia, his temper was mild, he was polite, agreeable, and artful, having a perfect knowledge of the world; he was finely shap'd, with a pleasing countenance, and majestic in his person, which his

(g) Grogor. Car. de vit. sua.

A. D. 381. advanced age rendered venerable; and above all, in great esteem at court, and highly in the favour of Theodosius. But however, he had been, and still continued to be, a man intirely of the world, he had passed his life in a gay manner, and had omitted no opportunity of taking all the pleasures which he thought lawful, being an eternal courtier, and knowing nothing but the world. He had never applyed himself to his studies; nor had he any knowledge of the holy scriptures, of church-discipline, and, what is still more strange is, that he was a Catechumen, having deferred his baptism till then, according to the pernicious custom of the persons of distinction in those days; and nevertheless, as he had been recommended to Flavian of Antioch, by Diodorus of Tarsus, his name was set down amongst the Bishops who were presented to Theodosius; and this Emperor, who (*b*) already had a liking to him, having declared himself in his favour, they were so meanly condescending as to ordain, without deliberation, this courtier and old sinner in the room of St. Gregory, who had been one of the most pious and sublimest divines of his time.

And indeed this proceeding might have afforded means to the Arians, to re-establish themselves by degrees in Constantinople, thro' the insufficiency of the Patriarch (tho' he was a very good catholick) had not God prevented it, by strengthening the Emperor's zeal, in order to compleat with success what he had so courageously undertaken against the hereticks. For being informed that several Arian bishops, who had disguised themselves under the pretence of being catholicks, kept the churches still in their possession, he made a new Edict of the thirtieth of July, by which it was ordered, that all Clergymen should be expelled the churches, who were not approved of by particular Bishops, whose faith he could answer for, and whom he had appointed for that purpose in every province of the Empire. (*i*) And as Nectarius, who was named in the first rank of these Bishops, knew very well that, not being sufficiently learned in the mysteries of religion, he might easily be deceived by the false artifices of the Arians,

(*b*) Sozom. l. 7. Cap. 9. (*i*) L. 3. de Fid. Cath. Cod. Theod.

he kept with him his great friend Diodorus of Tarsus, and Cyriacus, another bishop of Cilicia, with some other men of learning, in order to instruct him in the episcopal functions, as likewise to defend him from the deceits of the hereticks, by holding to a strict examination all those who were to be received into his communion: so the Arians at that time could not reap any great benefit from the election of a man who was so different from his predecessor. And in order to end the council, to the confusion of Arianism, and to the glory of the illustrious defenders of J E S U S C H R I S T, and of the martyrs of his Divinity; as Theodosius had restored the catholick Bishops to their churches, he likewise resolved to honour the sacred relicks of those who had gloriously sacrificed their lives for the defence of the catholick faith against Arian impiety; he then ordered that the body of the holy Patriarch Paul should be transported from Cucusa to Constantinople, which accordingly was brought, as it were in triumph, into that city, and (k) carried to the magnificent church, which was built by Macedonius his persecutor, and was at that time consecrated to the memory of that blessed martyr, of whom it afterwards bore the name.

This council being thus at an end in the East at the latter part of the month of July, it was succeeded in the month of September by the synod of Aquileia, where the remains of Arianism in the West were suppressed; for soon after that St. Ambrose had caused Anemius to be elected bishop of Sirmium, in spite of all the endeavours of the Empress Justina, Gratian arrived there in order to settle affairs in Illiria; and at that time Palladius and Secundianus, the two only Arian Bishops, who still persisted in their obstinate wickedness, protesting daily that they were catholicks, and were falsely accused of being Arians, earnestly entreated the Emperor to give orders for a general council to meet in the West, by which means they might clear themselves of this calumny, and satisfy the world concerning their belief. (l) Gratian being over-persuaded by the importunities of Justina, who was very zealous for these two Bishops, had already consented to it; But St. Ambrose

(k) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 10.

(l) Acta Conc. Aquil.

A.D. 381. having urgently represented to him, that it was shameful, and even of a dangerous consequence, for the whole church to meet in behalf of two rebellious men; he only invited the Bishops of the Provinces, which were in the neighbourhood of Aquilea, granting them at the same time the liberty of not going thither. Whereupon Thirty two Bishops repaired to Aquilea from Italy, Gaul, and Pannonia, and were almost all of them renowned for their doctrine, and holiness. The principal persons amongst them were St. Ambrose, Sabinus of Placentia, to whom that great saint used often to send his works in order to be corrected by him, Philastrius of Bressa, who was well known by his writings, Eusebius of Bolognia and Valerian of Aquilea, who restored in his church what ever corruption of Arianism had been introduced into it by his predecessor Fortunatian. The two Arian Bishops appeared before this council; and tho' they still insisted upon a general council, at which the Western Bishops should be called, they nevertheless were condemned by this, with one common voice, because they daily declared that they had no hand in any thing that concerned Arius, and yet they never would condemn him, nor his Epistle, which was read in a full synod; and besides, as they used so many artful turns, and ambiguous ways of speaking, they would not agree to declare plainly and precisely, without any restriction, that **JESUS CHRIST** was **GOD**. They likewise condemned at the same time two notorious ungodly men, one of them was Attalus, an Apostate priest, who from a Catholick had turned Arian; and the other, his master, named Valens, who, being banished from Petto, which was his native country, and whereof he had usurped the Bishoprick, found means, out of revenge, to deliver it up treacherously to the Goths; and after this fine exploit, he had the assurance to appear, even in the city of Milan, in a Gothish habit, and under the protection of Justina, to confer orders on some of the meaner sort of people, whom he had seduced. So, as this synod was summoned to meet upon this account only, it was soon dispatched; for all was over in one sitting, which began on the fifth of September, and lasted from near six of the clock in the morning, till one in the afternoon.

This

This gave a deal of vexation to the empress Justina, who met St. Ambrose every where in her way, continually opposing her designs, and breaking all her measures with Gratian, who found it very difficult to defend himself against the art and importunities of his mother. She had even over-persuaded him to grant her a church in Milan, for the small number of Arians, who were under her protection. But this prince, having for some time suspended the performance of his promise, he at last delivered this church up to St. Ambrose, (*m*) whose virtue and doctrine, with the authority which both had acquired to him, bore a greater sway in the mind of Gratian, than the favour of Justina, or the complaisance which he had for her. Therefore this princess, who was strangely obstinate in heresy, and almost in despair to see her Arianism quite reduced, to be confined to her palace, as to its last retrenchment, took a horrid resolution from that very time, to be revenged one day of St. Ambrose, without sparing any thing; no, not even the most dreadful crime, so that she could be but satisfied. For there is nothing that the mind of a powerful and provoked woman is not capable of, especially when she is possessed with the wicked spirit of heresy, which she would endeavour to establish in the world, in order to have the vanity of being at the head of a party that makes a great noise, and offers up incense to her as to their idol.

Id the mean while Damasus bishop of Rome, being informed of what had been transacted in the council of Constantinople, and how dangerous it was least the schism which continued at Antioch, by the election of Flavian, should disturb the whole church, applied to the Emperor, in order to have a general council call'd at Rome, where the Bishops of the East and West, being assembled, and united to their head, they might all unanimously act for the publick good. The Emperors, on their side, were extremely zealous, to promote the success of a design, which they themselves judged to be very beneficial to the church in general; and therefore they joyned their imperial letters to those of the Bishop of Rome, in order to summon the Bishops of both

(*m*) Ambros. l. 1. de spir. san. c. 1.

A. D. the Empires. Those of the West immediately obeyed, and came
 381. to Rome, Gratian having given necessary orders to his officers, to supply them generously with such sums as would defray the expences of their journey. As to the Eastern Bishops, three of them only met at Rome, Paulinus, Patriarch of Antioch, St. Epiphanius, and Ascholius of Thessalonica; and it was at this time that St. Jerome, who had attended Paulinus, by whom he had been ordained priest, entred into the service of Damasus, and remained with him for about three years in the quality of a secretary, to draw up the answers, which were to be given to the consultations of the Bishops, (n) and synods of the East and West. But the rest of the Eastern Bishops, and chiefly the youngest of them, who had assisted at the council, and were resolved to maintain their election, instead of repairing to Rome, according to the orders of Theodosius, they went to him to Constantinople, where one of them, who was artfully carrying on this scheme, had appointed to meet the rest. There they represented to the Emperor " That after having laboured so successfully
 " to destroy all heresies, and chiefly that of the Arians, it was not
 " to be supposed, that any opportunity would be given to the
 " heretick, to raise up their heads again, by a long absence of
 " the Bishops. That should they undertake the voyage of Italy,
 " they would be too distant from their churches, at so dangerous
 " a time; for, that the hereticks, who were kept in awe, by the
 " very presence of the catholick Bishops, who were continually watching their flock, would undoubtedly take advantage of
 " their absence, in order to reinstate themselves, and in a short
 " time occasion great disorders. That they thought it sufficient
 " for them to meet once more at Constantinople, from whence
 " they would send to the Bishop of Rome, and to the Western
 " Bishops, who were there assembled, to give them an account
 " of their proceedings in the council of the foregoing year, to
 " the end that all parties agreeing together, what ever would
 " be approved of at Rome, should be the opinion of the universal
 " church.

(n) Hier. Ep. 11. 27. 61.

Theodosius, to whom this advice seemed very reasonable, not diving into their secret designs, freely gave his consent to it. A. D. 382.

(o) So that the Bishops being assembled a second time at Constantinople, (as representing still the council of the foregoing year,) they deputed three Bishops to Rome, with a synodical Epistle wrote at large, wherein they represented the state of the Eastern church, as it was newly delivered from the horrid persecution of the Arians, and how dangerous it was lest the wolves, whom they had expelled, should return again amongst the sheep, should the pastors be at too great a distance from thence, whereupon they excused themselves in most respectful terms, protesting that they wished they had the wings of a dove, in order to hasten their way to Rome, that, as members, they might there be united with their head. But withal that there was no possibility of compleating their desire, at so dangerous a juncture, wherein their presence was so absolutely necessary to their churches. After this they gave an account of what they had determined concerning heresies, and chiefly against the Arians, conformably to the holy Nicene council; of the canons which they had made, and of the election of Nectarius, and that of Flavian, which they declare was performed in a canonical manner, by the consent of the whole church of Antioch, and approved of by the general voice of the whole council.

(p) This epistle being carefully examined, Damasus bishop of Rome confirmed the council of Constantinople, as to what related to the opinions and decisions of faith, but not as to the canons and regulations, particularly that which was not mentioned in the synodical epistle, and which gave the Patriarch of Constantinople, the first rank after the bishop of Rome, to the prejudice of the churches of Alexandria and Antioch, whose pre-eminence was confirmed in the council of Damasus. For indeed the bishops of the imperial city had not usurped that dignity till under the empire of Justinian, and having maintained it for many years,

(o) Theod. l. 5. c. 9. (p) Phol. l. de 7. syn. St. Greg. Mag. l. 6. Epist. 125. St. Leo. Ep. 51. & 53. Can. 5. alias. 7. Collect. Crescon. Codex, Vati.

A.D. by the favour and authority of the Emperors, they were at last
 382. tolerated without any opposition, only to preserve the peace. As to the election of Flavian, tho' Paulinus was acknowledged for the lawful Patriarch by Damasus, and by the whole Western church; nevertheless this wise bishop considered that if he declared that election void, it was to be feared that it might occasion an universal schism between the East and West, which would give an opportunity to the Arians to re-establish themselves; for which reason he chose rather to conceal his thoughts, and tolerate the Patriarch of Antioch for some time, which was likewise done by his successors for twenty six years after, when at last there was a happy end put to it by Innocent bishop of Rome. It is likewise reported that in this very council it was, that Damasus made a decree, (q) that after every Psalm, in the office, they should sing the Hymn of glorification, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*. This was in use in the church in the time of the Apostles; but the Arians by corruption used to say, *Glory be to the Father, thro' the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, because they would not express the equality of the three Persons. And the catholicks not only observed this very constantly, but also, in order to confound the Arians, who denied that the Son had been from eternity, they added this verse, *As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be world without end, Amen*. And Damasus ordered, that the one and the other should be said at the end of every Psalm, (r) that by renewing so often, the profession of the catholick faith, at the times which were appointed to sing the praises of the Almighty, the more Trophies would be consecrated to the glory of the three adorable Persons of the Trinity, over the impiety of Arianism.

A.D. What seemed wonderful was, (s) that Theodosius at that very
 383. time was inspired with the same spirit, to forward the ruin of that heresy in the East, by the glorious action he did in a third assembly of the Fathers, whom he had invited to Constantinople,

(q) A&A. Damas. Basil. ad Amphit. de Sp. 5. c. 27. Theodor. l. 2. c. 24. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 19. (r) Concil. Vaf. 4. 1. Conc. c. 5. (s) Secr. lib. 5. cap. 10. Soz. lib. 7. cap. 12.

in order to find means to reduce all his subjects to a unity of opinion and belief. Besides the orthodox Bishops, there came, by his command, some other Bishops of different Arian sects, who had been already turned out of the Bishopricks, which they formerly had taken into their possession, and who at that time were in some hopes of being restored, if they were admitted, into the presence of the Emperor, to dispute their cause with the Catholics. For the hereticks are fond of nothing so much as conferences and debates, particularly when they are held before those who have neither understanding, nor capacity enough to distinguish, what is true or false, in matters of that kind. And as they speak as boldly in behalf of error and falshood, as a lover of truth will do in defence of it; so they ever flatter themselves, that it will be easy for them to come off always thro' the perplexity of obscure disputes, saying that they have gained the victory, only to render it more uncertain, and to make the world doubt, on which side it will declare it self. Therefore these Bishops came with a great deal of joy to this conference, which they imagined was to be held in a full synod, in the presence of Theodosius, and of the whole court, and they appeared there in company with those of their opinion, who were the most skilful in the art of confounding people, by illusions and sophisms. But they were very much deceived in their expectations: for the Emperor, having agreed upon the matter before hand, with Nectarius the Patriarch (who was a prudent artful man, and not at all inclined to disputes, to which he was a perfect stranger) he asked these Bishops at their first meeting, what oppinion they had of the Fathers and Doctors, who had written upon the mysteries of Religion, before that Arius had ever appeared in the world? To this they immediately replied (not knowing the Emperor's secret thoughts) that in their opinion, they were great men, and they looked upon them as the teachers of the Christians, who ought to have a profound veneration both for their persons, and for their doctrine. The Emperor hearing this, said to them, without giving them time to deliberate: " You must therefore, of two things, necessarily chuse one; you must either confess what they have

N n n

" said

A. D. 383. " said concerning the Divinity of *JESUS CHRIST*, as the irreproachable witnesses of the ancient doctrine of the Church in their time; or in retracting what you have just said in their praise, you must pronounce anathema's against them. I will admit of no reply to this; all disputes are out of the question; you must immediately fix upon a resolution, and chuse one of these two propositions.

These few words spoken with authority, by a Prince, who was mighty absolute, and could express himself in a powerful manner, when it was his pleasure, put these hereticks into disorder. For, as they had not foreseen this incident, nor argued the case amongst themselves, they were extremely puzzled. If they should pronounce anathema's against the Fathers of the Ancient church, they would become odious, and abominable to the people, who would be ready to stone them; and if they should acknowledge that authority, and submit to it, they would immediately give up the argument, which was their only strength; and then those witnesses, who spoke so plain, would be produced against them, and they could not well set aside their testimony, without doing a great deal of dishonour to themselves. Being thus at a stand, it was impossible for them to agree upon the answer, which the Emperor immediately required of them, or to know which of the two proposed parties they should take. Some of them (being Semi-Arians) were willing to adhere to the doctrine of the Ancients, as it was explained by the Fathers, because they thought that they could find in it wherewithal, to defend and maintain their opinions. The others who plainly saw that they should be condemned by it, and who proposed great advantages to themselves by disputing, would not submit to have the case decided by authority; but required that the points in question should be debated, by which means they might have it in their power to use all their sophisms, in order to intangle the dispute in such a manner, as the affair could never come to a decision, and they were so deeply engaged in this debate, that they at last fell into a warm dispute, concerning their own opinions, with which they began to upbraid one another, as being either contrary to the doctrine of the Primitive church, or not to be maintained

tained by reason, supposing they should be referred to a strict examination. *A.D.*
383.

Theodosius who was highly pleased to see them thus confounded, and in disorder, as he foresaw it would happen, said to them, that, in the mind they were in, there was no probability that they could ever agree, unless some other measures were taken, for which reason he commanded them to bring him (every one of them in particular) their profession of faith in writing, upon a day appointed, and that the opinion which would be judged the best, should be approved of, in order to their conforming themselves to the same. The day being come, the heads of the different sects of Arians, viz. Demophilus, Eleusius of Cizicus, and Eunomius attended the Emperor with the confession of their belief; and Nectarius likewise presented his profession of faith to him in the behalf of the Catholicks. Then Theodosius, after a solemn invocation of the name of God, to give a blessing to the action which he was about, read these professions, and tore all those of the Arians, holding that of the Catholicks in his hand, which confessed the Consubstantiality of the Word: "This, gentlemen, said he, is the only knot of the reunion
" of your minds and of your hearts in the same belief which
" we have received from the Apostles, by the hands of our Fa-
" thers, who delivered it by word of mouth, and in writing,
" conformably to the Gospel, which they preached throughout
" the world. I will not admit, throughout my dominions,
" of any other religion, but that which obliges us to worship
" the Son of God in unity of Essence, with the Father and
" Holy Ghost, in the adorable Trinity. As I hold the Empire
" of him, and the power which I have to command you; he like-
" wise will give me strength, as he hath given me the will,
" to make my self obeyed, in a point so absolutely necessa-
" ry to your salvation, and to the peace of my subjects." Having
spoken in this manner, he dismissed them, without giving them
time to make any reply; nor indeed were they able to answer
a word, so great was their confusion, being already divided a-
mongst themselves, and surprized at the unexpected proceeding

A.D. of this great Prince. And what was more wonderful (God giving a blessing to the Emperor's wife and generous conduct) the
 383. Arians themselves, who before this, seemed dissatisfied, and were exciting seditions in the provinces and cities, where the edicts of Theodosius were published, now turned all their anger against those Bishops, who were so much divided amongst themselves; and acknowledging the weakness of their cause, by that very misunderstanding, most of them were converted, and became good Catholics.

At this juncture, the opportunity was too favourable, not to take all the advantage possible, of the consternation of the heads of the Arians; as likewise of the happy disposition of the people. Therefore the Emperor immediately issued out two edicts, the one of the twenty fifth of July, and the other of the third of September, whereby, after having renewed the orders he had given; (†) that the Arians should not assemble together, either in towns or in the country, he now forbade them to say or do any thing, either in publick or in private, that could be in the least offensive to the Catholick religion, empowering all his subjects to prosecute all such persons as should transgress this law, and expel them like monsters, from the society of men. He moreover required by those statutes, that all Arians who should be found out of their provinces or cities, should be compelled to return to them, and to retire into their houses, for fear that (being at liberty to go abroad, and correspond with other cities, by trading with them) they might spread their venom in all parts, and infect the whole world with their heresy. And to the intent that this law should be strictly observed, he farther decreed, that all officers and magistrates of any town, wherein the Arians had assembled together, should be severely punished, and that the houses wherein these hereticks should be discovered; should likewise be forfeited.

These last edicts, which were published on so favourable an occasion, and countenanced by the power and authority of a

(†) L. 11. & 12. de Hæret. Cod. Theod. Sozom. l. 9. c. 12.

Prince who knew how to make his subjects obey him, were of so great force, that in a little time there remained in the East, but very few Arians, who did not even dare to declare themselves. They inwardly concealed their wicked thoughts, in hopes of finding some other opportunity if possible of making them known, which they they very unadvisedly did, and was the cause of their utter ruin, as we shall see hereafter. And indeed, on this occasion, Theodosius observed an admirable conduct. As he was sensible that a conversion which was made by force could not be very sincere, and that nevertheless, according to the Gospel, it is necessary sometimes to compel those people to come to a feast, who refuse the offer when they are invited to it; he mixed lenity and rigour so (u) artfully together, that if the latter only shewed it self with a threatening aspect, immediately the evil was suppressed; whilst the former, on the other hand, was labouring to promote good, in a truly effectual manner. For his edicts caused so great a terror in the Arians, that it kept them in their duty at least as to outward appearance, without being obliged to put them in execution; and the favours which he conferred on those, who were converted, brought over a greater number to him, who were in hopes of being treated in the same manner.

Thus Arianism, which had been supported by the sovereign power of two Emperors, after having made a great noise and disturbance in the world, was at last destroyed sixty three years after its birth (which seemed to be the fatal climacterick year) by the wisdom and resolution of Theodosius, who undertook to restore, throughout his dominions, the Empire of JESUS CHRIST, which that Arian monster had almost subverted. So true it is, that either the good or bad state of Religion, depends on a Prince who is absolute; for as he may destroy all things, when he makes his power subservient to his passion; so likewise he can restore every thing, if his authority is backed by the zeal which he ought to have for the glory of him to whom he is indebted for his Empire. But as a great river (when swelled with the floods of the sea) will over-run one of its banks, and

(u) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 9.

A. D. 383. after a long inundation, leave it dry, then change its course, and throw it self on the other side, where it will occasion fresh devastations; so in the same manner, Arianism (after having for so many years caused such horrid disorders in the East) being at last opposed by the courage and invincible zeal of Theodosius, rushed with more fury than ever, into the West, by a dreadful inundation of Goths, Germans, Vandals, and Lombards, who there established their heresy with their Empire, as we shall relate in the following Books.

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